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CURRENT DISCUSSIONS
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— BY THE —

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CURRENT DISCUSSIONS IN THEOLOGY.

BY
THE PROFESSORS
OF
CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

VOL. III.

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CHICAGO:
FLEMING H. REVELL.
1885.

15 May, 1889.
Divinity School.

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PREFACE.

THE friendly reception, which the previous volumes of these DISCUSSIONS have found at the hands of those best qualified to offer criticism, has been a strong confirmation of their right to be. Even to have found a recognized gap in Sacred Literature, in these days of many books, is a matter for satisfaction. The idea of this publication, its plan and scope, its material and spirit, have all been greeted with words of commendation; so that, in issuing this third volume, the authors acknowledge with pleasure the encouragement which such recognition has given.

The aim of this book is to answer the question, which every earnest student of theological and ecclesiastical subjects may well be supposed to ask at the close of each year, viz. : What has been done in the different fields of sacred learning during the past twelve months, and what are the latest results of such studies ? In preparing this Report of Progress critical reference has been made to the most recent literature, as a help to those who wish to prosecute their studies further along the lines indicated, while enough of the fruits of the latest inves-

tigation is given to make the work immediately profitable to the student.

The requirements of the busy pastor, who earnestly desires some one book that will show him the landmarks of theological development, and the demands of the specialist in such studies, have both been considered; and it is hoped that the practical needs of the one and the scientific thoroughness of the other will find here some help toward answering their questionings.

While substantial unity in theological belief and methods of work will be observed among the writers of this book, it may be well to state that each is directly responsible only for his own contribution to it. The time of publication has been changed from the Spring to the Autumn, and owing to unforeseen circumstances the printing has this year been somewhat delayed. It will appear hereafter annually in October.

THE FACULTY.

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,

Chicago, December 10, 1885.

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EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

PRESENT STATE
OF
OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES.

BY
REV. SAMUEL IVES CURTISS,

PROFESSOR OF OLD TESTAMENT EXEGESIS, IN CHICAGO
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS IN THEOLOGY.

THE REVISION IN THE LIGHT OF OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES.

PREFATORY REMARK.

The present year has been signalized by the publication of the Revised Version of the Old Testament. In order rightly to understand what is involved in such an undertaking, it is fitting that we should survey some of the helps which are required in the preparation of so important a work, as illustrated in recent contributions to Old Testament literature.

An acquaintance of the reader with the preceding volumes of *Current Discussions in Theology*, especially the first, is presupposed, since they are designed to prepare the way for the review of Old Testament literature given in the present work. The introductory discussion of Old Testament Hermeneutics, Theology, Geography, Antiquities, etc., must be deferred to subsequent volumes.

CHAPTER I.

TEXTUAL STUDIES.

Is the original text of the Old Testament Scriptures certainly known? It is usually maintained that it is to be found in the so-called Hebrew Massoretic text,¹ which is an accurate reproduction, letter for letter and vowel for vowel, of the sacred originals. But there is some question as to the Massoretic text itself. Here, as in the New Testament, there is a *textus receptus*, which was first collated from many manuscripts by a famous Jewish scholar, Jacob ben Chajjim ben Adonijah,² and which was first printed by Daniel Bomberg.³

The comparatively late age⁴ of all Hebrew manuscripts, and the great sameness of the text, owing to the close adherence of all existing manuscripts to the Massoretic or traditional texts, makes the comparison of different Palestinean Hebrew manuscripts, as is evidenced by the labors of Kennicott⁵ (d. 1783), and De Rossi⁶ (d. 1831), of far less importance than in the case of the New Testament manuscripts, yet

¹ Cf. *Current Discussions in Theology*, Chicago, 1883, vol. i, p. 72.

² See Strack, *Massora*, in Herzog and Plitt's *Real-Encyclopädie*, Leipzig, 1881, vol. ix, p. 392.

³ Venice, 1524-1525, in four parts, folio.

⁴ Cf. *Current Discussions*, vol. i, p. 71.

⁵ *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum Variis Lectionibus*, Oxonii, 2 vols., folio, 1776-1780. Cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, New York, 1882, vol. xiv, p. 36.

⁶ *Varie Lectiones Veteris Testamenti*, 2 vols., quart., Parmæ, 1784-1786.

a critical Massoretic text needs to be formed on the same principles as the critical texts of the New Testament. There are, in the first place, two leading kinds of Hebrew manuscripts, the Palestinian, and the Babylonian. The Palestinian is well known through our Hebrew Bibles, and yet even in this there are differences in the readings between the schools of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali, although these are mostly confined to the vowels and consonants.¹ The Babylonian has an entirely different form of punctuation, which is not at all represented in any of our texts.² For this reason a publication of a facsimile of the *Codex Petropolitanus*, which contains the last half of the Old Testament, beginning with Isaiah, is of importance to Old Testament scholars, both on account of its variants, as well as by reason of the different kind of signs which are used. But unless some Hebrew manuscripts can be found which antedate the Massoretic period,³ there is comparatively little interest in publishing facsimiles of Hebrew manuscripts,⁴ except from a

¹ Strack, *Prolegomena Critica*, Lipsiae, 1873, p. 28, and compare the remark in his article on *Die biblischen und die massoretischen Handschriften zu Tschufut-Kale in der Krim*, in Delitzsch und Guericke's *Zeitschrift*, Leipzig, 1875, p. 611.

² Pinsker, *Einleitung in das Babylonisch-Hebräische Punktations-System*, Wien, 1863.

³ Strack maintains that it is unlikely that ancient Hebrew manuscripts will be found. He bases this on two grounds: 1. On account of the numerous persecutions of the Jews, and the ruthless destruction of manuscripts by Christians. 2. Because the Jews, in trying to prevent this, doubtless destroyed them with their own hands. They are certainly known to have placed manuscripts which they esteemed useless on account of their age in a chamber in the Synagogue where they were liable to decay until they were burned to make room for others.

⁴ Baer, a learned Jew, and Delitzsch have produced the best text of some of the Old Testament books extant, but this is confined to

calligraphic point of view, or as they represent the Babylonian school in distinction from the Palestinian. But the point must be admitted that with all the scrupulous exactness of the Massoretes, there was no stereotyped Massoretic text, that a critical text is still needed, and that this can only be prepared after the publication of Ginsburg's great work on the Massora.¹

Not a few critics maintain that no Massoretic text, however perfect, can accurately represent the original state of the Old Testament, since the school of the Massoretes is comparatively a modern institution. The Massora indicates adequately the condition of the text about the seventh century A. D., but it differs more or less from the versions, and especially from the Septuagint. This difference in the case of the Septuagint has been assigned, by those who maintain the superiority of the Hebrew text, not only to an inadequate acquaintance with Hebrew on the part of the translators, but also to the use of corrupt copies of Old Testament books by them, perhaps of an Aramaic Targum.² But the critics affirm that these various readings are

Genesis (*Liber Genesis. Textum Massoreticum Accuratissime Expressit, E Fontibus Masorae Variæ Illustravit, etc.* Lipsiae, 1869), Job (1875), Psalms (1880), Proverbs (1880), Isaiah (1872), Ezekiel (1834), Minor Prophets (1878), Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah (1882). But the collation of all the Hebrew manuscripts, including the rare collection of old codices in the Imperial Public Library at St. Petersburg, is of great importance. If the variants are comparatively slight, this should be proved beyond dispute. See the description of these manuscripts in Strack's article just quoted.

¹ This work has not yet come into the hands of the author.

² Böhl, *Forschungen nach einer Volkshibel zur Zeit Jesu und deren Zusammenhang mit der Septuaginta-Übersetzung*, Wien, 1873, p. 28, holds that the Septuagint translation was the Bible of the common people.

due to a different condition of the Hebrew text before the Christian era, and claim that we should try to find the state of the text which preceded the time of Rabbi Akiba¹ (d. 125, A. D.), and the Massoretic (seventh century A. D.), by means of these ancient versions.

With regard to the Alexandrian version the solution of this question as to the original Greek text is by no means an easy one. The reproduction of the Old Testament text of the Septuagint in its primitive form is far more difficult than that of the New Testament Greek. The latter is, perhaps, best secured through the aid of the most ancient uncial manuscripts, like the Vatican, the Sinaitic, that of Ephraem and the Alexandrian,² but these ancient manuscripts, although of great value, preëminently the Vatican, do not necessarily reproduce the original form of the Septuagint.³ They are subsequent to the period

¹ Prof. W. Robertson Smith and others maintain with Lagarde that subsequently to the time of Rabbi Akiba all discordant copies of the Old Testament were suppressed, and, while he admits that the evidence is circumstantial, considers it quite sufficient. See *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, Edinburgh, 1881, p. 75. Lagarde goes so far as in imagination to follow the history of the manuscript, which he thinks was rescued sixty years after the destruction of Jerusalem, when Bar-Cochba was defeated at Bethar. Cf. Muehlau, *Besitzen wir den ursprünglichen Text der Heiligen Schrift?* Dorpat, 1884, p. 14. The claim that all the manuscripts differing from this model manuscript were destroyed, should always be mentioned simply as a supposition having more or less probability, and not as an established fact, as is sometimes done.

² The Vatican MS. is considered the oldest, and probably presents the text of the Septuagint in a purer form than either of the other uncials. It belongs to the fourth century A. D., the Sinaitic to the middle of the fourth, *Codex Ephraemi*, and *Alexandrinus* to the fifth. See Scrivner, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, Cambridge, 1883, pp. 87-120.

³ Lagarde, *Genesis Graece*, Lipsiae, 1868, p. 9, says: "*Ac primum quidem id negari a nullo poterit, versionis illius codicem non superesse, quo ceteros constet derivatos esse.* *Sequitur neque*

in the early church when there was not so much of an effort to preserve a pure text of the Septuagint as there was to bring it into harmony with the Palestinian Hebrew recension. This effort resulted in a corruption of the text, and even where it was not made, copies of the Septuagint which represented the purest form of the text were liable to become contaminated by a text which had purposely been made to conform to the Hebrew. While facsimiles¹ of the ancient Greek manuscripts are of the highest interest to the scholar, they fail to present the original text of the Alexandrian version. This can be found only by the collation of certain texts which are to be discovered in families of manuscripts, such as those represented by the texts of Lucian, Hesychius, and Origen.² These, however, cannot be gathered from uncials going back, or nearly so, to the time of these scholars, but are to be drawn from families of cursives, which in each case can be traced back to an original archetypal uncial no

eos qui vaticanum librum neque qui alexandrinum editionum suarum fundamentum esse velint, recte hoc velle dici posse."

¹ The following facsimiles have been issued, which are in the library of Chicago Theological Seminary: Vercellone, Sergio et Cozza, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Graecus Codex Vaticanus*, Romae, 1868-1872; *Bibliorum Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus*, Petropoli, 1862; *Facsimile of the Codex Alexandrinus*, British Museum [London], 1879-1883. The two first are merely printed with facsimile type; only the last, taken by a photographic process, reproduces all the peculiarities of the original manuscript.

² These three texts, according to Jerome, were current respectively in Constantinople and Asia Minor, in Egypt, and Palestine: "*Alexandria et Aegyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem; Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam, Luciani Martyris exemplaria probat. Mediae inter has Provinciae Palestinos codices legunt; quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt; totisque orbis hoc inter se trifaria varietate compugnat.*" Vallarsii, *Hieronymi* *Operum*, Veronae, 1738, Tom ix p. 1405.

longer in existence. From this point of view a study and classification of the cursive manuscripts of the Septuagint is of the highest importance.

In view of these facts it is a disgrace to Old Testament scholarship that so many years have been allowed to elapse without any critical edition of the Septuagint. Tischendorf's text was issued rather in the interest of the publisher than of scholarship, as the same stereotype edition, without essential change, was published five times, and this was substantially a reproduction of the Sixtine edition of 1587, which was derived, although not accurately, from the Vatican manuscript.¹

Professor Lagarde, of Göttingen, notwithstanding certain infelicities of disposition, which are not calculated to win friends, deserves the recognition, sympathy and aid of all scholars² for his noble, difficult and heroic endeavors to restore the original text of the Septuagint. He brings to his work not only the critical insight which is necessary to see what needs to be done, but also the rare gifts of patient and accurate scholarship to execute his undertaking.

¹ Tischendorf published this in 1850, with the various readings of the Alexandrinus, the fragments of the Codex Ephraemi, and of the Friderico-Augustanus. This was stereotyped in 1850, the second edition appeared in 1856, the third in 1860. Although the Sinaitic manuscript was discovered in 1859, no use was made of it except in the prolegomena and the title page. The fourth edition was published in 1869, the fifth in 1875, but although the text of the Vatican had been published it was entirely neglected, and it was not until the year 1880 that an appendix containing the readings from the Sinaitic and Vatican was added to another impression from the old stereotype plates. See Schürer in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Leipzig, 1880, cols. 497-499.

² Such aid has been given by Prof. William Wright, who by a notice in *The Academy* sought to promote the sale of Lagarde's works. See *Ankündigung einer neuen ausgabe der griechischen übersetzung des alten testaments*, Göttingen, 1882, p. 63.

The work has progressed slowly on account of many difficulties.¹ Lagarde is trying to reproduce the text of Lucian, and has published the first half of the work.² The other half will not appear unless scholars purchase a sufficient number of copies to pay the expenses of the first volume. It is a misfortune that there should be the least doubt about the appearance of the second volume, for this edition only marks a preparatory stage, since before the completion of the final work it would be necessary to restore the texts of Hesychius and Origen.

The Syriac version, known as the Peshitto, which was made at an early period, perhaps in the second century A. D., does not exist in a critical edition. Ancient Syriac manuscripts of the Holy Scriptures, especially of the New Testament, are far more numerous than of the Greek.³ The Ambrosian manuscript, which dates from about the Sixth Century, has been reproduced through a photo-lithographic process, and edited by an Italian

¹ The text to which allusion is made is that of Lucian, the martyr, of Samosata (d. 312). His great work was his edition of the Septuagint, which was corrected by the Hebrew. This text, according to Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum Quae Supersunt*, Oxonii, 1875, Tom. i, p. lxxxvii, is found almost identically in codices 19, 82, 93, 108, of Holmes and Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum Variis Lectionibus*, Oxonii, 1798-1827. In translation it has been discovered in the Gothic fragments of the Old Testament of Ezra and Nehemiah, *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Leipzig, 1876, col. 307. The text found in the above codices (especially 108), lies essentially at the foundation of the Greek of the Complutensian Polyglott. Cf. Maïum *Vetus et Novum Testamentum*, Romae, 1857, Tom. i, p. v.

² *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canoniconum Pars Prior*; Göttingae, 1883, pp. xvi-544.

³ See Nestle, *Syrische Bibelübersetzungen* in Herzog und Plitt's *Real-Encyklopädie*, Leipzig, 1885, vol. xv, p. 196.

scholar, Ceriani,¹ but this simply affords a partial basis for a critical edition.

It would be of great value to know the condition of the Hebrew text in the time of Jerome, but this is a matter of no little difficulty. When his translation was prepared an old Latin version was in existence. Jerome's version did not win its way for hundreds of years. The consequence was that the text of his translation became corrupt through a gradual infusion from the Old Latin version. Hence the Vulgate does not represent the text of Jerome. This exists most purely in the Codex Amiatinus which Tischendorf claimed to give to the learned world,² but which still remains to be published.³

The Samaritan Pentateuch, not to speak of Walton's Polyglott, and Kennicott's Old Testament, is accessible to the student in the edition of Petermann.⁴ The Samaritan Targum in Hebrew letters, which must be distinguished from the version, has been published by Brüll⁵ and Heidenheim.⁶ The Aramaic Targum of Onkelos has been issued in a critical edition by Dr. Berliner.⁷ While the three

¹ *Translatio Syra Pescitto Veteris Testamenti ex codice Ambrosiano Sec. fere vi, Mediolani, 1875.*

² *Biblia Sacra Latina Veteris Testamenti, Lipsiae, 1873, p. v.*

³ Wellhausen in Bleek, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. Berlin, 1878, p. 600, says that it is only a deception of the public.

⁴ *Versuch einer hebräischen Formenlehre nach der Aussprache der heutigen Samaritaner nebst einer darnach gebildeten Transcription der Genesis und einer Beilage enthaltend die von dem recipirten Texte des Pentateuchs abweichenden Lesarten der Samaritaner, Leipzig, 1868.*

⁵ *Das Samaritanische Targum zum Pentateuch, Frankfurt, a. M., 1875.*

⁶ *Die Samaritanische Pentateuch-Version, Leipzig, 1884.*

⁷ *Targum Onkelos, Berlin, 1884.*

latter are of value in determining the state of the text, yet their character as witnesses has been affected in the Samaritan by the peculiar views of the Samaritans, and the Targum of Onkelos, by dogmatic considerations and tradition.¹

The readings of the Talmud might be considered of value in determining the text, but here there is need of a critical edition, and in any case they must be used with great caution on account of the ancient habit of quoting from memory.²

As to the use of these helps in determining the character of the Hebrew text at an earlier period than that represented by the Massoretic text the critics are not at one. Those who follow Lagarde maintain that these ancient texts must be restored to their pristine form before they can be used as a corrective of the Massoretic text, while others, as Wellhausen, claim that even the ordinary text of the Septuagint, if used with care, can be of greatest service in amending the Hebrew text.³

While we should not blindly adhere to the Massoretic text as though it had an exclusive claim to inspiration, yet we have reason to believe that it represents the ancient text in its purest form, since it is in the language in which the sacred oracles were first given, and has been preserved by the Palestinian Jews, who would be most likely to be careful in the transmission of their Scriptures. There are, doubtless, cases where the unani-

¹ Cf. *Current Discussions in Theology*, Chicago, 1883, vol. i., pp. 74-77.

² Cf. Strack, *Prolegomena Critica*, Lipsiae, 1873, pp. 60, 111.

³ *Der Text Der Bücher Samuelis*, Göttingen, 1871, pp. 3-4.

mous testimony of the versions counter to the Massoretic text should be accepted, but not all, for the agreement may not represent an original condition of the text. Certainly the greatest care should be exercised in making such changes, and we should remember that while scientific accuracy should be employed in endeavoring to restore the original text, the result is not likely to produce any essential change in the articles of our faith, or in our belief, except that God has not attempted to give us the exact letter of his Word.

CHAPTER II.

LEXICOGRAPHICAL AND GRAMMATICAL STUDIES.

The science of Hebrew lexicography has made wonderful strides during the last century. When the version of 1611 was prepared it was essentially Jewish in its character, and had not really advanced beyond David Kimchi's *Radicum Liber*,¹ in the Hebrew language, and Pagnini's lexicon, which was drawn from Jewish sources. Although Castell³ and Michaelis⁴ produced valuable works, yet Gesenius first made an epoch in the history of lexicography, and no work has yet been brought forth which supersedes his *Thesaurus*,⁵ and the estimation in which his lexicon is still held is attested by the fact that it has appeared in nine editions, including those which have been issued since his death. The distinguishing character of his work is the judicious comparison of the cognate languages, especially the Arabic. While three editions of Julius Fürst's lexicon⁶ have been published it has never won the confidence of

¹ Rabbi Davidis Kimchi, *Radicum Liber*, ed. Biesenthal et Lebrecht, Berolini, 1847.

² *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae, sive, Lexicon Hebraicum*, etc., Lugduni, 1577.

³ *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, Londoni, 1669-

⁴ *Supplementa ad Lexica Hebraica*, Gottingae, 1792.

⁵ *Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaee Veteris Testamenti*, Lipsiae, 1829-1858.

⁶ The third edition is by Dr. Victor Ryssel, *Hebraisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, Leipzig, 1876; also in English translation, New York, 1867.

scholars as a judicious work, which could be recommended for students who could have recourse to no other lexicon.¹

The later editions² of Gesenius have fallen almost entirely into the hands of the school of Fleischer and Franz Delitzsch, and hence are very unsatisfactory to representative scholars of other schools. Protests have been made in various reviews by Siegfried³ and others against such a preponderating use of Delitzsch's commentaries and those of the Erlangen theologians, and Friedrich Delitzsch has published a little treatise in which he claims that Arabic has been overestimated in the study of lexicography, and in which he directs attention to the importance of Assyriology for the proper understanding of the derivation of many Hebrew words.⁴ While this is doubtless true it hardly seems probable that Assyrian will displace the Arabic in our lexicons, but rather that it will take a place beside it on equal terms.

Perhaps it will be reserved for an American scholar to produce the best Hebrew lexicon, if he should not be hampered by stereotype plates,⁵ which will not be merely a translation of the later editions of Gesenius, but which will contain the results of

¹ Cf. Baudissin in Schürer's *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Leipzig, 1877, eds. 377-379.

² These are the eighth and ninth, Leipzig.

³ *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Leipzig, 1883, cols. 529-538.

⁴ *The Hebrew Language Viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research*, London, 1883.

⁵ This was the case in Dr. Ryssel's third edition of Fürst's Lexicon, and notably in the various editions of Tischendorf's text of the Septuagint, cf. p. 23.

the latest scholarship drawn from all sources. Such a work is a difficult task, but is a great desideratum at the present time, if the right publisher can be found.

While the common Hebrew lexicons are also adequate for the Aramaic parts of the Old Testament, they do not suffice for the Targums. An admirable help is provided for those who know German, in Levy's Chaldee Lexicon.¹ The same author is also issuing a lexicon for Talmudical and Rabbinical writings.²

HEBREW GRAMMARS.

The science of Hebrew Grammar is a product of the nineteenth century. The works of Kimchi (d. 1235), Levita (d. 1549), and Buxtorf³ (d. 1629), were of value, and Kimchi's Grammar⁴ may be regarded as a classic, but it was Gesenius (d. 1842), who opened a new epoch in the study of Hebrew.⁵ The greatest grammarian of the century, with all his faults, was undoubtedly Ewald⁶ (d. 1875). Gesenius presented a clear analysis of the Hebrew language, Ewald a synthesis; while Justus Olshau-

¹ *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des Rabbinischen Schriftthums*, Leipzig, 1867-1868.

² *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmud und Midraschim*, Leipzig, 1876-1879.

³ *Thesaurus Grammaticus Linguae Sanctae Hebraeae*, Basilea, 1609.

⁴ Published in many editions, called *Sepher Michol*.

⁵ *Ausführliches grammatisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1817.

⁶ *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache des Allen Bundes*, Göttingen, 1870.

sen¹ sought to trace the history of the language back to a primitive Semitic, which is most closely related to the Arabic.

Within the last six years the first half of two Hebrew grammars has appeared; one by Stade,² the other by König.³ Both seek to bring the science of Hebrew grammar down to recent date, and afford valuable new materials for the study of the language. König not only presents results, but also processes.

In England the elementary work of Davidson⁴ occupies the first rank, and it is a matter of regret that one who has shown himself so competent in the scientific treatment of the elementary principles of the language should not have prepared a grammar for more advanced students.

The work of Driver on the *Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*,⁵ is a monograph of great value and occupies a preëminent position in the subject of which it treats. It emphasizes what perhaps is the most important part of Hebrew syntax, namely, that the perfect and imperfect in Hebrew are not used in themselves to indicate tense, but rather the character of an action, as complete or incomplete in the past, present or future.

The science of Hebrew Grammar, which had a fair beginning in America under Moses Stuart⁶ (d.

¹ *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache*, Braunschweig, 1861.

² *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1879.

³ *Historisch-Kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1881.

⁴ *An Introductory Hebrew Grammar*, 2d Ed., Edinburgh, 1876.

⁵ Oxford, 1874, 2d ed., 1881.

⁶ *A Grammar of the Hebrew Language*, 5th Ed., Oxford [Eng.], 1838.

1852) and which rose to the first rank of scientific excellence under Nordheimer¹ (1842), has made no essential progress for several years. The admirable treatise of Prof. Green,² while possessing many excellencies, has not made that advance which is desirable, owing to the pernicious custom of our publishers in stereotyping such books.

Recent text-books have been prepared by Professor H. G. Mitchell,³ and Professor Harper.⁴ The work by Dr. Mitchell does credit to the author and publisher. It is questionable, however, whether it is wise to attempt to change the technical terms of Hebrew Grammar which have become current, as has been done by Dr. Mitchell. Nor can it be said that the student is likely to derive as clear and scientific a conception of the Hebrew language by means of this book as through the use of Davidson's. The text-books of Dr. Harper have reference to a method of instruction on the basis of the latest and best grammatical helps, and are designed to answer the query: "How may beginners learn the Hebrew language most quickly and thoroughly?" The claim is made by Dr. Harper that his inductive method furnishes the best reply. In his hands and those of his trained helpers, it secures admirable results. Time must determine whether it is equally adapted for the use of Hebrew teachers generally.⁵

¹ *A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language*, New York, 1838-1841.

² *A Grammar of the Hebrew Language*, New York, 1866.

³ *Hebrew Lessons*, Boston, 1884.

⁴ *Introductory Hebrew Method and Manual*, Chicago, 1885; *Elements of Grammar by an Inductive Method*, Chicago, 1885.

⁵ Since writing the above I have had an opportunity to try Dr. Harper's books for a month, and am greatly pleased with the result.

CHAPTER III.

EXEGETICAL STUDIES, COMMENTARIES ON THE ENTIRE OLD TESTAMENT.

The methods of the older commentaries are too well known to need especial mention. Keil and Delitzsch, who are very diverse in their critical views, the former being a strict traditionalist, while the latter adopts a modification of the views of the latest critical school; both in the original¹ and translation² contain most of solid worth from an orthodox and conservative standpoint. The *Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch*,³ which is gradually passing through new editions, and which has no doctrinal bias, is claimed by the critics to be most scientific in dealing with Biblical exegesis and criticism. Reuss, *La Bible*,⁴ is commended as the best commentary on the Bible by one author. It occupies a free position, Reuss being the father of the modern critical school of Graf and Wellhausen. Lange's series, edited by Schaff, is a library of exegetical, homiletical and practical comment, so extended as to be confusing to the ordinary student. The best volume of the Speaker's Commentary is perhaps that on the Pentateuch. Jameson, Fausset, and Brown's Commentary, in the octavo, and especially in the pocket edition, is useful for laymen who have neither

¹ *Biblischer Commentar über das Alte Testament*, Leipzig.

² *Biblical Commentary to The Old Testament*, Edinburgh.

³ Leipzig.

⁴ Paris, 1877-1878.

the time nor the disposition to study the larger commentaries.

Two series of English commentaries of recent date are very unequal in their scholarship. *The Pulpit Commentary*,¹ which opens with an excellent general introduction, by Canon Farrar, showing the progressive character of divine revelation, has extended special introductions, some of which exhibit an ignorance of the latest German scholarship, or of the real critical questions at issue. This might, perhaps, be considered no serious loss, if some of these volumes did not undertake to deal with these questions. The Commentary on Exodus, by Canon Rawlinson, is especially interesting, and the one on Jeremiah, by T. K. Cheyne, is from the hand of a competent scholar.

Ellicott's series, like the one just mentioned, has a conservative and apologetic aim which it definitely announces.² Perhaps the commentaries on Exodus, by Canon Rawlinson, and on Leviticus, by Dr. Ginsburg, are most interesting and instructive. The former contains admirable excursus. The commentator on Deuteronomy thinks that he is prepared to fight all the modern critics after making an especial study of the Jewish commentator Rashi. He shows a very imperfect and superficial comprehension of the questions which he undertakes to discuss.

¹ It is published in London and New York. Volumes have been issued on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges and Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah.

² See the Preface to Genesis, New York [without date], vol. i., p. vii ff.

The best of the recent English commentaries on the Old Testament, in design and execution, is the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*,¹ of which Dr. Perowne is general editor. The series, instead of being composed of large quartos, is made up of handy duodecimos, with admirable introductions, and brief, clear comments. It would be well that every minister and theological student should master this work before he takes up the larger critical commentaries.

An examination of any of these exegetical helps shows how needful it is that our ministers should be independent critics of the text through their own knowledge of Hebrew and of the history and methods of criticism.

COMMENTARIES ON SINGLE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

GENESIS.*—The difficulty which is felt in treating of the Pentateuch is evinced by the fact that in certain quarters commentaries on this part of the Old Testament are the last to appear. This is due to two causes: (1) to the progress of the physical sciences, and (2) to certain critical theories respecting the origin of the Pentateuch, which do not seem to be in harmony with the ordinary views of inspir-

¹ The volumes already published are on Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, Job, Ecclesiastes, Jeremiah, Hosea, Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah.

* In this connection we may mention an interesting and instructive book which is of great value for the study of the New Testament: Hershon, *Genesis with a Talmudical Commentary*, London, 1883. The "introductory essay" and the "introduction" are uncritical in their estimate of the origin and antiquity of the Talmud.

ation. These views, more or less, strictly postulate infallibility for the Old Testament, not only in religious teaching, but also in historic and scientific statements. While such popular treatises as the Pulpit, and Ellicott's series, furnish commentaries on the Pentateuch, the Cambridge Bible has not even announced any, and Professor Delitzsch, whose theological standpoint has somewhat changed within the last decade, has allowed thirteen years to elapse without issuing any new Commentary on Genesis, although he is fond of publishing new editions of his other commentaries.

Dillmann, however, who holds that it is not the object of the Bible to teach science, but rather the fear of God, and the knowledge of him, has issued commentaries on the first three books of the Pentateuch.¹ With regard to his critical views he holds that the Hexateuch (Pentateuch and Joshua) was made up of four original documents by a final editor (R= *Redactor*), of which the Elohist (A) is the oldest, and is comparatively ancient. Its author belonged to the central priesthood at Jerusalem. The second Elohist, who was from the northern kingdom of Israel (B), he dates back to the tenth, or at the latest the ninth century B. C. The Jehovist (C) was from the southern kingdom of Judah, and wrote in a prophetic spirit somewhat later.

With respect to the cosmogony of the Book of Genesis, he takes issue with those who consider that

¹ *Die Genesis*, Leipzig, 1882; *Exodus und Leviticus*, Leipzig, 1880.

the particulars which it affords of the creation are the product of a divine revelation to Adam. He considers rather, that after the race had reached a certain stage it was the product of reflection in answer to the demand of the human spirit to know the origin of things, and he accounts for the points of agreement between the different cosmogonies of various nations through the similarity of the phenomena, and of the conditions of the human mind acting on them. He holds that the incomparable superiority of the cosmogony in Genesis is not in its ultimate scientific accuracy, for he claims to find varying accounts of creation in the Old Testament,¹ but rather in its freedom from all the fantastic excesses of heathenism.

A sufficient basis for this view seems to be set forth in popular form by Professor Volck, of Dorpat, in an address, entitled: "How far are we to attribute freedom of error to the Bible?"² The address is significant as coming from a pupil of Professor Delitzsch, and from one who has the reputation in Germany of being very conservative. Instead of affirming that the Bible is a revelation from God, he maintains that it is a document of that revelation. He objects to the definition that "it is that book, which in a clear and sufficient manner, teaches what we must believe to gain eternal life," since "it contains much more, and almost three-fourths of the Bible could

¹ Cf. his *Genesis*, Leipzig, 1882, p. 11, where he compares with Genesis i, chapter ii; Job xxxviii, 4 ff., Proverbs viii, 24 ff., Psalms xxiv, 2; Job xxvi, 7-10.

² *In wie weit ist der Bibel Irrthumslosigkeit zuzuschreiben?* Dorpat, 1884.

be dispensed with if this definition were correct." He holds that the effort to prove the errorless character of the Bible in matters of science and chronology is to divert our attention from it as a foundation, and to put us on our guard lest it be drawn away from under our feet. On the other hand, he affirms that to doubt the historical character of Abraham is to smite the head from the history of redemption, and protests against the assumption that the peculiar religious character of the people of Israel was not stamped upon them on Mount Sinai, but was the result of a gradual development.

It is, indeed, a fair question whether the evidence of the divine origin of the Scriptures should not be divorced from such questions as infallibility in matters which are not essential to our salvation, and which could only be insured by a divine dictation to the writers of the autographs. If God did not deem it essential to use miraculous power in the transmission of the very words of our Redeemer, why should we claim that he has left no marks of human infirmity on the divine originals? This is undoubtedly a point where truth and a wise conservatism should join hands.

JUDGES AND RUTH.—The only commentary deserving especial mention is that of Bertheau.¹ The last survivor of those who prepared the original edition of the *Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch*, and nearly seventy-two years old at the time of the publication of the second edition, his work betrays a careful study of the latest critical theories. While

¹ *Das Buch der Richter und Ruth*, Leipzig, 1883.

he is far from occupying the orthodox position of Keil, he is conservatism itself in comparison with Wellhausen and Seinecke. He rejects the favorite theory of Steinthal and others, that the story of Samson is due to a sun-myth, and that the charming picture of moral and religious life, such as we observe in Ruth, is inconsistent with the wild time of the judges. He finds traces of the influence of the Mosaic law in the dealings of Israel with Benjamin, and of ancient history in the narrative of Gibeah, although he declares that while we cannot prove that Judges and Ruth, including the other historical books from Genesis to 2 Kings xxv., received their present literary form at the hands of Ezra, yet that it was not found in existence as a complete whole, but first took on its present form when it was received into this historical collection.

FIRST SAMUEL.—American theological students and young ministers are sometimes lamentably deficient in a general knowledge of the Old Testament. A series of books designed for "Candidates preparing for the Oxford and Cambridge local and the College of Preceptors examinations," has been published, of which an Analysis on the First Book of Samuel has just appeared, containing a map and some tables. The design and execution of this little volume, which does not enter into the details of criticism, seems to be good.

JOB.—The eminent Roman Catholic scholar, Gustavus Bickell, has published in German verse, the poetical parts of Job in a charming little book, entitled, *Dichtungen der Hebräer, Job, a Dialogue*

*concerning the Suffering of a Righteous Man.*¹ It is entirely without comment.

The prolific theological family of Wright has another representative in G. H. Bateson Wright, of Hong Kong, who has published a translation of the Book of Job, which is based on extensive critical alterations in the text.² On account of the close affinity of Job with Jeremiah, he concludes that that prophet was the author of this poem. His handling of the text is an illustration of what might be expected if the critics should be left to make their own arbitrary alterations, so long as there are no universally recognized principles with respect to Old Testament text criticism.

Professor A. B. Davidson's Commentary,³ in the Cambridge Bible series, reveals the hand of a master. The introduction, extending through sixty-eight pages, is weighty, and the book will be warmly welcomed even by those who do not accept the modern critical theories which are plainly discernible. Davidson, with Kuenen and Cheyne, sees in this book a striking parallel to Is. xl-lxvi., and considering the condition and needs of the faithful and persecuted Jewish congregation in Babylon as the occasion of both books (Job and Deutero-Isaiah), he dates it after the time of the Babylonian exile.

PSALMS.—While no work on the Psalms is more worthy of commendation to the English reader than

¹ Job, *Dialog über das Leiden des Gerechten*, Innsbruck, 1882.

² *The Book of Job. A New Critically Revised Translation, with Essays on Scansion; Date, etc.*, London, 1883.

³ *The Book of Job, with Notes, Introduction and Appendix*, Cambridge, 1884.

that of Perowne, on account of its clear discussions of the various problems involved with reference to recent scholarship, the contributions of the last three years are marked. Bickell has published another pocket volume, containing the Psalms in verse,¹ but without comments. Professor Delitzsch has furnished the fourth edition of his valuable commentary,² which is not only a testimonial to his versatility and to a scholarship which never becomes antiquated, but which, like the bees, gathers from all sweet flowers, and lays aside against a time of need. Nor have English and American scholars been idle. Dr. Schiller Szinnesy, a learned Jew, formerly a Rabbi, now connected with Cambridge University, has issued in Rabinnical type, the first book of Kimchi's valuable Commentary³ on the Psalms, based on nineteen manuscripts. Of the three commentaries in the English language, that under the pseudonym Ben Tehillim, in blank verse,⁴ has least to commend it, and, so far as the end that it has in view of furnishing a better form for chants, is a dead failure. No poetical ear would ever dream of chanting:

"My God, my God, O why forsak'st thou me?
Far from my saving help
The matters of my roar."

The Book of Psalms,⁵ translated by T. K. Cheyne, in the parchment library, with twenty-four pages of

¹ *Der Psalter*, Innsbruck, 1883.

⁵ London, 1883.

² *Biblischer Commentar über Die Psalmen*, Leipzig, 1883.

³ *The First Book of the Psalms... with the Longer Commentary of R. David Qimchi, etc.*, Cambridge, 1883.

⁴ *The Book of Psalms in English Blank Verse*, Edinburgh, 1883.

introduction, and forty-two of explanations, is the work of an accurate and competent scholar who has won his laurels in his commentary on the prince of the Old Testament prophets. He is outdone, however, by Dr. DeWitt, an American professor, whose rendering of the Psalter is not less correct, but far more musical.¹

ECCLESIASTES. — Perhaps the pessimism of a Schopenhauer and a von Hartman has given a peculiar zest to the study of this most pessimistic and difficult of all the Old Testament books. A Jewish Rabbi, Dr. Sinai Schiffer, has collected the utterances of the wise men of the Talmud, the Midrash, and of the Jewish interpreters of the Middle Ages concerning it.² The brilliant Renan has made it the subject of an elaborate essay and translation, which afford little that is solid in the discussion of the question.³ He no longer holds that it is a product of the age of Solomon, but with such critics as Graetz assigns it to a late date in the time of John Hyrcanus (125 B. C.), and declares from the language that Koheleth appears to be the most recent of the Biblical books, and closely affiliated with the Talmud. Renan's style of treatment may be judged from the remark "that the author appears to us like a resigned Schopenhauer, far superior to the one whom a bad stroke of fortune caused to live at a German

¹ *Praise-Songs of Israel. A New Rendering of the Book of Psalms.* New York, 1884.

² *Das Buch Kohelet. Nach der Auffassung der Weisen des Talmud und Midrasch und der jüdischen Erklärer des Mittelalters.* Frankfurt and Leipzig [without date].

³ *L'Ecclesiaste traduit de L'Hébreu avec une Étude sur l'Age et le caractère du Livre.* Paris, 1882.

tables d'hôte." Far better is the commentary¹ by Prof. Nowack, of Strassburg, who shows a deep appreciation of Delitzsch's commentary, and who maintains with him that it was written in the later Persian period, and that contrary to Heine, who characterizes it as the *Hohelied* of skepticism, it is rather the *Hohelied* of the fear of God.

Prof. Bickell, whom we have twice mentioned, announces his earnest treatment of the book in the title of his pamphlet: "The Preacher on the Value of Existence. A Reproduction of the Hitherto Mutilated Text [with] a Translation and Interpretation."² He maintains that the great difficulty which this book has occasioned to interpreters has originated through a displacement of the original order of the leaves. He describes with great circumstantiality, as if he had seen the original manuscript, what the original order of passages was. He also suggests various changes in the text. His theory is indeed a bold one, and only lacks proof to commend it. The following lines give a good specimen of his poetical translation:

- Doch besser, gehen zum Klaghaus,
Als in das Trinkhaus gehen.
- Denn dort is Aller Ende;
Wer leben blebt bedenkt es.

Two English commentaries on the same book have recently appeared. One by Dean Plumptre,³ who dates it between the years 240 and 181 B. C., not

¹ *Der Prediger Salomos*. Leipzig, 1883.

² *Der Prediger über den Wert des Daseins. Wiederherstellung der bisher zerstückelten Textes, Uebersetzung und Erklärung*, Innsbruck, 1884.

³ *Ecclesiastes; or, The Teacher*, Cambridge, 1885.

only gives a learned introduction, treating of title, date, authorship, comparing it with Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon, and giving an account of Jewish and Christian Interpreters, but also, in an appendix, furnishes numerous parallels between Koheleth and Shakespeare, and Koheleth and Tennyson. By far the most elaborate and learned of all the works mentioned is that by Rev. C. H. H. Wright, D.D.¹ It contains an introductory treatise of more than 275 pages, discussing its place in the canon, its relation to the Book of Wisdom, its authorship, its pessimism compared with that of Schopenhauer and von Hartmann, especially in relation to a future state, the character of women, etc. Besides, there is a new translation with a critical and grammatical commentary, and an appendix, with excursus on the Talmud and the Old Testament Canon, the Men of the Great Synagogue, the Grammatical Peculiarities of the book, and a Glossary. The excursus on the Men of the Great Synagogue, while apparently based on Block and Heidenheim, is of great interest as controverting the view of Kuenen, and Robertson Smith, that the account given of it is mythical, and as showing that there were for more than two hundred years after Ezra, competent guardians of the Old Testament Scriptures.

ISAIAH.—But one commentary deserving of especial mention has recently appeared. Cheyne's

¹ *The Book of Koheleth*, commonly called Ecclesiastes, considered in Relation to Modern Criticism, and to the Doctrines of Modern Pessimism, with a Critical and Grammatical Commentary and a Revised Translation, London, 1883.

*Prophecies of Isaiah*¹ has rapidly passed through three editions. It represents the highest grade of scientific scholarship, permeated by a sympathetic and evangelical spirit. The comments are brief and pointed, and the work is accompanied by critical and philological notes and valuable essays. The prince of commentators, however, on this most important prophecy of the Old Testament is Delitzsch.

JEREMIAH.—Cheyne brings to the exposition of this prophet² the same scholarship as he displays in the work just mentioned, although that remains his masterpiece. He is evidently somewhat circumscribed in the discussion of critical questions by the practical character of the book, which is one of the series of pulpit commentaries. In his treatment of vii., 22, where it is affirmed by modern critics like Graf and Kuenen, that we have an utterance which is entirely inconsistent with the Mosaic origin of sacrifice, he occupies a conservative, yet cautious position.

EZEKIEL.—This prophet has become one of the most interesting in the Old Testament owing to the position which the critics assign him as marking the transition between ancient Israel and Judaism. Smend, who is an adherent of the critical views of Wellhausen, has produced a Commentary³ of great interest, because he claims for Ezekiel one of the most important positions among the prophets, with respect to the theology and history of Israel. Although he utterly rejects the view that Ezekiel was

¹ New York, 1884.

² New York [without date].

³ *Der Prophet Ezechiel*, Leipzig, 1880.

the author of Leviticus xvii-xxvi., he maintains that this is younger than the time of Ezekiel. While we do not accept the conclusions of this commentary we regard it as a weighty contribution to Old Testament literature.

THE MINOR PROPHETS.—The most learned and elaborate work from an apologetic standpoint is that of the late Dr. Pusey, which has been reprinted by Funk and Wagnalls. This commentary does not discuss the modern critical questions. These are touched upon by Cheyne, in his commentaries on Hosea and Micah, and are handled at length by Merx, in his Commentary¹ on Joel, who is at one with the critics of Wellhausen's school in dating that book after the year 445 B. C., and who not only gives the translation of the book, but also the unpointed Hebrew text, with readings from the various versions, and a history of its interpretation, running through more than 330 pages, from Theodore of Mopsuestia to Calvin. The Ethiopic text of Professor Dillmann is given at the end. Quite in the spirit of Pusey, although without his independent scholarship, is *Redford's Studies in the Book of Jonah, a Defense and a Exposition*.² He considers Jonah the author of the book, and the events narrated in it as entirely historical. C. H. H. Wright, whom we have already mentioned, is the author of an extended Commentary on Zechariah,³ which was first given as the Bampton Lectures for 1878. He contends that the work is to be traced to one author and that its origin is post-exilic.

¹ *Die Prophetie Des Joel und Ihre Ausleger von den Ältesten Zeiten bis zu den Reformatoren*, Halle, 1879.

² London, 1883.

³ *Zechariah and His Prophecies, considered in Relation to Modern Criticism*, London, 1879.

CHAPTER IV.

INTRODUCTORY AND HISTORICAL STUDIES.

The past five years have not been fruitful in producing introductions to the Sacred Books. For this there has been a good reason in the revolutionary character of Pentateuch criticism, which more or less affects the view of the other Old Testament books. The period has rather been characterized by special investigations and monographs. Nevertheless, Wellhausen issued the fourth edition of Bleek's Introduction,¹ in which he promulgated his views of the post-exilic authorship of the Pentateuch. Reuss, who claims that he became father of this hypothesis forty years ago, through intuition, has issued a History of the Holy Scripture of the Old Testament, which he characterizes as his last work on account of his advanced years, and his earliest because he held substantially the same views years ago.² It differs from the ordinary introductions in giving the historical setting of the literature, as an essential pre-requisite for understanding the literature itself. The theological position of the writer may be gathered from the following remark: "The ideas of type and prophecy are taken in a much more universal sense than is customary in theology, especially of the older sort, which understands by

¹ *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Berlin, 1878.

² *Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments*, Braunschweig, 1881.

them a prediction and pre-representation of future events mediated through a supernatural inspiration. We understand by them a development of religious ideas, standing under a higher guidance, whereby the latter here as everywhere, remain dependent on human relations, and their attestation in writing is conditioned through the insight of the writers and the needs of their times."¹

The Religious Tract Society is publishing introductions to the books of the Bible. The volume on Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther, by Sayce,² while written in popular form, bears marks of learning, and is strictly conservative. The work entitled *Introductory Hints to English Readers of the Old Testament*,³ by Rev. J. A. Cross, contains an account of the contents of the books of Scripture for those who may be unfamiliar with them, and then an account of the origin of the books, from the stand-point of a criticism prevalent in Germany about fifteen years ago. Professor Briggs' *Biblical Study*⁴ is really an informal introduction to the Bible, especially to the Old Testament, although it discusses Hermeneutics, Theology, Hebrew poetry, and some practical questions besides. The author, as is well known, is a champion for the right of unrestricted criticism in the study of the Old Testament, and the work was published with the design of vindicating this claim.

An introduction which most fully satisfies the conditions of progressive scholarship and of a safe con-

¹ *Ibid*, p. 2.

² *An Introduction to the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther*. London, 1885.

³ London, 1883.

⁴ Second edition, New York, 1884.

servatism, is Strack's Introduction in Zöckler's *Manual of Theological Sciences*.¹ It is a brief but comprehensive treatise by a scholar who is eminent in the department of "lower criticism," and who would seem to be best fitted to prepare a critical Massoretic edition of the Hebrew Bible. It is to be hoped that his attention may yet be turned in this direction.

OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY.

Nothing is more calculated to kindle the enthusiasm of the student of the Old Testament Scriptures than the important investigations and researches which shed light on the sacred text. Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and the land of the Hittites have awaked from their sleep of many centuries, and have exposed at least some of the secrets of their ancient life to the world. While there is much that is uncertain and problematical in these discoveries, yet that which is known is of incalculable importance. There are two ways in which the discoveries of these ancient nations are tributary to the history of Israel. So far as they are nations of antiquity, and especially so far as any of them are Semitic nations, or come in contact with Israel, they cast valuable side lights on the subject of Israelitish history.

Brugsch's *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, which may be read in the original German² or in English,³ has

¹ *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften, Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Nördlingen, 1884, vol. i, pp. 123-210.

² *Geschichte Aegypten's unter den Pharaonen*, Leipzig, 1877.

³ London, 1881.

been so long before the public that it should hardly be mentioned here, except for the sake of commending the work.

Brown's *Assyriology, Its Use and Abuse in Old Testament Study*,¹ is a finger raised to those who are inclined to count every new discovery, which is supposed to shed light on the Old Testament, a confirmation of the absolute accuracy of the sacred historians, even before the facts are well established. Such a style of apologetics is certainly harmful.

Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*,² now happily translated into English, is a valuable work for the understanding of the Old Testament, especially from a historical point of view. An excellent little book on the history of Babylonia and Assyria, is by Mürdter, with a preface by Professor Friedrich Delitzsch. *The Ancient Empires of the East*³ is a useful book by Sayce, treating of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, the Phœnicians, Lydia, and the Persian Empire. Notwithstanding the unpleasant controversy which has arisen, Dr. William Wright's *Empire of the Hittites*⁴ is an important contribution to the indirect sources of Israelitish history. The book is written somewhat in an apologetic and polemic tone, which has excited opposition, but it is certainly a work of great interest and of real value.

Recent histories of Israel have appeared either in combination with the ancient histories of other countries or alone. Most of them are from the

¹ *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, Giessen, 1883.

² New York, 1885, ³ New York, 1884. ⁴ New York, 1884.

standpoint of the freest criticism. Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*,¹ now published in English, is not in any sense a history of Israel, but rather a discussion of the sources of that history. It is the production of a master mind and has done more to popularize the view in Germany that the Middle Books of the Pentateuch received their written form after the exile than any other work. What would be Wellhausen's treatment of the history itself may be judged from his sketch of Israel's History in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which has been appended to the English translation of the *Prolegomena*. Seinecke's *History*² is written from the standpoint of an extreme criticism, and is of value mainly as a work to be catalogued which belongs to the subject. Köhler's³ text-book has outgrown its original purpose. It is the only History of Israel which has recently been prepared from a conservative point of view. The author clearly sets forth in the preface why that history differs from every other, since God interferes in it. The lowest round of the critical ladder has been reached by Edward Meyer, in his *History of Antiquity*,⁴ in which the history of Israel has a place. He reduces sacred history to the level of profane, and declares that so long as the doctrine of the inspiration of the Old Testament was held it was impossible to write a history of Israel in accor-

¹ *Prolegomena to the History of Israel, With A Reprint Of The Article Israel, From The Encyclopædia Britannica*, Edinburgh, 1885.

² *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Göttingen, 1876-1884.

³ *Lehrbuch der Biblischen Geschichte Alten Testaments*, Erlangen, 1875-1884, but not yet complete.

⁴ *Geschichte des Alterthums*, Stuttgart, 1884, vol. i., p. 348 ff.

dance with the facts. He declares that the Hexateuch (Pentateuch and Joshua) is worthless for the history which it claims to represent, and that the Book of Chronicles should not be quoted at all as historical evidence. He considers that the Israelitish religion grew up in the same way as other Semitic religions, and that Jehovah was simply a national God like Chemosh the God of the Moabites. He affirms that no history of Israel which is written in the interest of religion is of any value as history, and says that Ewald's great work is of comparatively little weight because of his position as a Christian theologian, although of the more liberal school. He does not speak of Israel in Egypt, and considers the effort to fix the date of the Exodus useless. He seems, therefore, to adopt the view that Israel never was in Egypt.

One of our American scholars, Professor Toy, of Harvard College, has produced a *History of the Religion of Israel*, which is conservative in comparison with the history just mentioned, although it is fully committed to the views of the modern critical school, and is admirably adapted to present a clear view of the history of God's ancient people from the standpoint of the most moderate type of modern criticism. It is really a primer for Sunday-school children, and is published under the imprimatur of the Unitarian Sunday-School Society.¹

¹ Boston, 1884.

CHAPTER V.

MISCELLANEOUS STUDIES.

SUBSIDIARY HELPS FOR THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Old Testament Periodical Literature.

It is one of the signs of the times that there are at least two Reviews of about the same age, which were first published in the last five years, and which are devoted exclusively to Old Testament literature and criticism. One is American, the other German. The American publication, *The Old Testament Student*,¹ labors under peculiar difficulties, since it not only has to create the supply for those interested in Old Testament subjects, but also the demand. It cannot be too scientific or it would not have a constituency sufficient for its support. At the same time it is an educator connected with an important Institute, and will doubtless improve each year. It is thoroughly conservative in its attitude. The German publication is edited by one of the most advanced German critics, Stade.² It acknowledges no theological school, but discusses Old Testament questions in a purely scientific way. It contains various valuable monographs and studies by

¹ Chicago: The American Publication Society of Hebrew, P. O. Address, Morgan Park, Ill.

² *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Giessen, 1881, and continued, until the present time.

the author and others. Its tendency is, perhaps, more destructive than constructive.

There are also two publications, one American, the other English, which are limited to Biblical subjects, and in which the Old Testament has a prominent part. One is the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*,¹ which meets in June and December of each year, published once every twelve months, in this country, and containing, for the most part, critical and scholarly papers. The other is *The Expositor*,² an able English Review, appearing monthly, which, in addition to valuable articles from leading European Biblical scholars, gives the Biblical literature of England, America, and the Continent, at the hands of competent scholars.

Archeological studies, which are tributary to a proper understanding of the Old Testament, have recently secured independent organs for the records of their investigations. For more than thirteen years the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*³ have been published in England, containing articles of the highest permanent value, and covering the entire range of ancient countries which in any way tend to illustrate the Bible. A Quarterly issued in America, *Hebraica*,⁴ has more especially to do with the philological side of the Semitic languages. It has been reserved for Germany, however, to publish two new Reviews which have a direct bearing on Old Testament studies. These are

¹ Published by the Secretaries in different places. ² London.

³ London, 1872 ff. ⁴ American Publication Society of Hebrew.

the *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*,¹ which was begun one year ago, and the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*,² which was really begun twenty-one years ago, but which is now appearing in a new series.

For fifteen years the department of Biblical Geography has been enriched by the publication of the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*,³ which is now supplemented by the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, of which *Privat-Dozent* Hermann Guthe is editor.

This interest in the language and literature of the Old Testament and those which are cognate with it is twofold:

1. It is on the one hand scientific. Its object is not religious, but philological and historical. It seeks to know who the Hebrews were, what were their language and history, and what were the other nations with which they came in contact; not for the sake of the Hebrews themselves, but for the sake of ancient history in general and of Semitic history in particular.

2. It is on the other hand of a religious and apologetic character. The foundations of the Christian religion are considered at stake in the attacks made on the historical character of the Old Testament; hence the effort to verify its statements by excavations of ruined cities, and geographical researches. This is especially the case in England, and science is under perpetual obligations to religion for the valuable and exhaustive investigations, which

¹ Leipzig, 1884 ff.

² Leipzig, 1885.

³ London, 1869 ff.

were doubtless stimulated by the attacks of critics on the Sacred Records.

It would be unfair to deny that in the ranks of European critics seemingly of the most destructive character are found professed Christians, men of serious spirit, who think that the true essence of the Bible is indestructible, even though its science, history and ethics should be found to be at fault. It is true, however, that unbelief makes a great handle of these admissions, and finds in them a warrant for rejecting the entire book as a revelation.

It is indeed remarkable what interest centers in the external facts of the Old Testament, and how ancient monuments, cities and countries are being searched to find testimonies confirmatory of the external truths of Scripture, although the most convincing witness is written in the hearts of believers.

ENCYCLOPÆDIAS.

The past ten years have been marked by the issue of several encyclopædias bearing more or less upon Biblical subjects, and of varying degrees of merit. The issue of such encyclopædias was greatly to be desired, although Smith's Unabridged *Dictionary of the Bible* (American edition¹), in four volumes, and Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*² still possess great value. The articles, however, which are affected by late critical investigations and discoveries in sacred geography, Egyptology, and especially Assyriology, are more or less behind the times. While Smith's Dictionary is most conservative, Schenkel's

¹ In four volumes, New York, 1868-1870. ² Leipzig, 1869-1875.

Bibel-Lexicon represents the school of the freest criticism. Three Bible Dictionaries have recently been brought to completion. Schaff's is a valuable compendium,¹ especially for laymen and Sunday-school teachers. Hamburger's *Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*, in German, by a Jewish Rabbi, consists of two parts, one of which is solely Biblical,² the other is Talmudical.³ Though lacking in an exact scientific treatment of the subject which it has in hand, it is a work of great value on account of the familiarity of the author with Jewish literature. The most important encyclopædia of recent date, devoted exclusively to Biblical subjects, is one edited by Professor Riehm, of Halle.⁴ It occupies an intermediate position between the schools of conservative and advanced critics, and numbers among its contributors such scholars as Franz Delitzsch, Ebers, Kamphausen, Kautzsch, Schrader, Schürer, and others. Of encyclopædias covering the entire field of theology, Herzog and Plitt's,⁵ as well as Schaff's abridgement, are of great value for the Old Testament. The former, which was begun in a second edition by Herzog, is still incomplete, but will soon be ready. It occupies a conservative position from a German standpoint, and is in itself a theological library, furnishing many articles of great value by some of the foremost Semitic and Old Testament

¹ *A Dictionary of the Bible*, Philadelphia, 1880.

² Berlin, 1870.

³ Strelitz, 1883.

⁴ *Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Altertums*, Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1875-1885.

⁵ *Real Encyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Leipzig, 1877-1886. Fifteen volumes have been issued, and the work, which has reached Tregelles, will soon be completed.

scholars of Germany. It is a work which every one who can read German ought to own and freely use. Professor Schaff's abridgement¹ is a theological encyclopædia for which English-speaking scholars should be thankful, although, on account of the great condensation necessary, it cannot do justice to the authors of the original German articles, and, by reason of its strict conservatism in cases where they belong, more or less, to the advanced school of criticism, does not present their views. The *Encyclopædia Britannica*,² of which Professor W. Robertson Smith is editor-in-chief, furnishes some articles on Biblical subjects of great merit, from the standpoint of the latest and most advanced school of Biblical criticism, some of which must surprise and pain the reverent student of the Scriptures—such articles as those of Dr. W. R. Smith on the Bible and Hebrew being the ones which were made the basis of charges against him which resulted in his removal from his professorship in Aberdeen. Cheyne, who occupies more of a mediating position, and Wellhausen, who is the acknowledged leader of the modern critical school, are also contributors. The American *Supplement*,³ in its treatment of Biblical subjects, occupies a far more conservative position, and contains some articles of merit by Professors Willis J. Beecher, Francis Brown, and others.

¹ *A Religious Encyclopædia*, New York, 1882-1884.

² New York, 1878-1885. Nineteen volumes have been issued.

³ New York, 1885. Two volumes have appeared.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REVISION.

It is not possible in following the encyclopædic plan of this book to enter into a detailed discussion of the Revised Version of the Old Testament. We must confine ourselves to a few general observations. It is clear that either an entirely new translation, or a revision of the Old Testament was needed, for three reasons: (1) On account of the changes in the English language. Numerous words are obsolete, the meaning of many of them is not understood even by people of more than ordinary culture. (2) By reason of words which are mistranslated.¹ (3) On account of the vastly superior helps for understanding the meaning of the text. These helps, which are textual, lexical, grammatical, archæological, exegetical, and historical, have been partly set forth. The process of translating the thoughts of writers who lived from twenty-four hundred to more than three thousand years ago, so that they can be properly apprehended by the men of the present day, is not an easy one. There must not only be a thorough knowledge of Hebrew antiquity, but also of the language which is made the medium of translation. The Hebrew scholarship of the present day is incomparably superior to that of the time of King James, but it may

¹ See Chambers, *A Companion to the Revised Old Testament*, New York, 1885, pp. 29-30.

be questioned whether our scholars generally can write the English language with such beauty and dignity as those who produced the version which has become a classic.

Two courses were open at the first: either 'to make a new translation, or to prepare a revision. The Revision Committee of Convocation, however, who had the matter in hand, decided upon the latter.¹ For this there was a good reason. The object of such a work was for the benefit of the people, to produce something that would be adopted by them. It is doubtful whether those who had learned to love King James' version would ever have been sufficiently reconciled to a new translation to adopt it. In England, although to a less degree than in Germany, it was thought that nothing but a conservative revision was likely to be adopted by the people, for whom it was prepared.

The work was on the whole committed to as competent a body of scholars as could be found in England and America. Among the English company were some of the finest Hebrew grammarians, such as A. B. Davidson, of Edinburgh, author of an *Introductory Hebrew Grammar*; and Professor Driver, of Oxford, who has produced an admirable monograph on the *Hebrew Tenses*. The best English commentators were also members, as Perowne, author of a commentary on the *Psalms*, and T. K. Cheyne, whose work on *Isaiah* is not inferior, from a scientific standpoint, to that of any German scholar. Dr. Field, editor of *Origen's Hexapla*, Dr. Ginsburg,

¹ Cf. Preface to the Revised Version.

a converted Jew, editor of a monumental work on the Massorah, Professor Sayce, celebrated for his attainments in Assyriology, Dr. Robert Payne Smith, author of a Syriac Lexicon, Professor William Wright, of Cambridge, the most eminent Arabic scholar in England, and Professor W. Robertson Smith, orientalist and fearless critic of the modern school, are not only names which represent specialists in the various departments, but also of the most eminent scholars which England affords.

The American company comprising such scholars as Doctors Chambers, Conant, Day, De Witt, Green, Mead, Strong and Van Dyck, while not perhaps so eminent as their English brethren, with two or three exceptions, were the best that could be found at the time of their appointment, and could not be improved unless by the addition of one or two Eastern scholars who have come into prominence since the American company was first formed. Whether the result would have been essentially different if the brethren who are now so severe in their criticisms had served on the company is doubtful, for while the scholarship and critical insight of one of them may be equal to that of two ordinary professors, it would hardly exceed that of the combined wisdom of such men as Davidson, Driver, Cheyne and W. Robertson Smith, who cannot be accused of undue conservatism.

It now remains for us to speak of the work accomplished. It is worthy of our highest respect, not only on account of those engaged in it, but also on account of the time devoted to it. It represents

fourteen years' study and reflection by the most eminent scholars who could be secured for it in England and America, with perhaps one or two exceptions in the latter country.

With regard to the revision itself, we discover the following peculiarities:

1. The critical scholarship is found mostly in the marginal readings. The reason why these did not get into the text was because the conservative element on the commission was strong enough to defeat their adoption there. They are of great value, but some of them must be rather surprising to the ordinary English reader. Let us look, for example, at some of the Messianic passages. In Genesis there are four places where we read: "In thee and thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed;" but in two other places in the margin we find the reading: "In thee and thy seed shall the nations bless themselves." (Gen. xxii., 18; xxvi., 4.) This is a concession to an established grammatical principle, that the Hithpael is never translated as a passive except in very late Hebrew. Again, we have the noted passage in Gen. xlix., 10: "The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, until Shiloh come"—where Shiloh is regarded as a person, the Messiah; but in the marginal note we have the alternative reading "until he come to Shiloh."

In the historical books, especially in Samuel, where the text is quite corrupt, and to which Wellhausen has given much study, we find not infrequent references to the readings of the Septuagint,

and some passages marked as not occurring there, as I. Sam. xiii., 1; xvii. 12-31; 55-xviii., 6. Our American revisers did not approve of indicating these variants, but without sufficient reason, since they could not prove, in view of the use made of the Alexandrian version by New Testament writers that the Massoretic text has especial claims to be inspired above that of the Septuagint.

The critics have had considerable discussion about Psalm ii., 12, which reads in our authorized version: "Kiss the Son, lest he be angry." This is considered an important Messianic passage in one of the chief Messianic psalms. The marginal note in the Revised Version indicates the reading: "Worship in purity"—the word translated son having the same consonants as the adverb signifying purely. In Ps. xxii., 16, King James' version reads: "They pierced my hands and my feet." This is substantially the rendering of the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the Syriac, but we have in the margin of the Revised Version, "like a lion my hands, and my feet," which is really the form of the kethib in the Hebrew text. In Ps. xlv., 6, the critics have found a place in the margin. The passage, as also found in Hebrews i., 8, reads: "Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever." The marginal note: "Thy throne is the throne of God," has arisen from the view that this psalm was originally an epithalamium, in commemoration of the marriage of a royal pair, and was afterwards adopted for the worship of the temple service.

2. Great conservatism has been manifested in alterations. None have been made except where a

majority of the revisers were clear that they were necessary. The revisers have been very sparing in the application of the principle so fully set forth by one of their number, Professor Driver, that the Hebrew verb is not used to mark distinctions of tense but rather of action, as perfect and imperfect.

This spirit of conservatism has left some wrong renderings standing, as, for example, Gen. vi., 3: "My spirit shall not strive with man forever," which is supposed by those not acquainted with the original Hebrew to have a theological significance. But neither the Hebrew original nor the ancient versions favors this meaning, but rather that the Divine Spirit as the source of life, shall no longer be the medium of long life in man. The passage rather means according to the marginal reading: "My spirit shall not rule in man forever."

The English company seem to have clung unnecessarily to certain obsolete words and modes of spelling, notwithstanding the suggestions of the American company. In Genesis xl.: 17 we read of "all manner of bakemeats for Pharaoh," where the Hebrew is simply the indefinite word for food. The euphemisms offered by our American scholars should have been accepted instead of the rank words which offend American ears. It would seem that all the suggestions of the American company so far as they pertain to these matters should have been adopted instead of being placed in the appendix.

There would certainly seem to be a gain in substituting the name Jehovah for Lord. While this does not represent the correct pronunciation of the

ineffable name, yet from the honorable place which it occupies in the language it is well adapted to present an idea to the mind which is not suggested by Lord.

3. The Revision clearly shows to the ordinary reader what has long been recognized by Hebrew scholars, that the Bible is not a dead level from Genesis to Revelation. It is rather an ascent from paradise to the new Jerusalem. It is not a legitimate use of the Old Testament to seek in it proof texts for all the doctrines that are found in the New Testament. It is a great mistake to suppose that the patriarchs had any such clear views of the plan of salvation, and of the life beyond this, as New Testament Christians have.

It would seem as though some supposed that since the Revision has appeared, hell and retribution have been destroyed, because the Hebrew *sheol*, indicating the abode of good and bad alike, has been transliterated. Undoubtedly, the Old Testament has been used in an illegitimate way to prove what is clearly taught in the New, that there is a place of torment, on account of the use of the word hell, which, although not originally used in that sense, signifies now a place of torment. It is unfortunate that the English company did not accept the suggestions of their American brethren and transliterate the word *sheol* throughout.

In closing, we may consider the attacks which have been made on the Revision. They are mainly twofold, affecting the text and the grammar. The revisers are blamed for not constructing a critical

text based on the Massoretic and the ancient versions. Their labors have been unfavorably compared with those of the New Testament revisers. The fact, however, seems to have been overlooked that while New Testament criticism has been the growth of nearly three-quarters of a century comparatively nothing has been done in the field of the Old Testament. Beginnings have been made by Lagarde, Thenius, Wellhausen, Doorninck, Strack, Baer, and others, but the principles of the Old Testament text criticism are not yet settled among Old Testament scholars, nor the place which the versions are to take as a corrective of the Massoretic text. It was not difficult, when New Testament scholars showed how the received text had been formed, to convince the world that the proper course in constructing a critical text was to make use of the most ancient manuscripts that have come to light. But the question as to the use that is to be made of the Alexandrian version is a very different one, for the text which we have is corrupt; and not all scholars are agreed as to whether it should be used to correct the Massoretic text, or if so, to what extent. Such work requires time.¹ Had the revisers begun it probably this generation would not have had a revision. They and the revisers would have been in their graves before the work was finished. But sup-

¹ Lagarde, in his *Genesis Graece*, Lipsiae, 1868, pp. 22-23, reckons that twenty years would be required to prepare two texts which should be preliminary to a final critical edition. Fifteen years have passed since then, and owing to a modification of his plans and unexpected difficulties, only half of one of three preliminary texts has been issued. Cf. *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canoniorum Pars Prior Graece*, Gottingae, 1883, pp. xv-xvi.

pose some of them had been committed to the preparation of a critical text, and even Prof. Briggs, who is so severe in his criticisms, had been on the company, would the essential result have been changed? Would he have been more persuasive than Davidson, Driver, Cheyne, and W. Robertson Smith? It may be said, however, that the commission should have consisted only of scholars and critics who are in sympathy with each other. But if the critics named could not persuade the united companies to carry out their views, how could they persuade the church in England and America, representing a far wider and more conservative constituency, to adopt their translation? However learned and critical the work might be it would be a failure if it did not secure ultimate favor.

The grammatical shortcomings of the Revision have been indicated, but it is evident that the revisers made as radical changes as were possible, considering the prejudices of scholars and of the people themselves against too great alterations in a popular version.

On the whole, we must say that the execution of this work is a noble tribute to the Christian scholarship and brotherhood of the nineteenth century, and is, at the same time, a clear evidence that those who would explore the treasures of God's Word and display them in their unalloyed richness, must still have recourse to the Hebrew and the Greek, and that for the minister at least these should not be dead languages.

EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.
NEW TESTAMENT.

**PRESENT STATE
OF
NEW TESTAMENT STUDY.**

**BY
REV. JAMES T. HYDE,
PROFESSOR OF NEW TESTAMENT LITERATURE AND
INTERPRETATION,
CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.**

EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

NEW TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

NEW TESTAMENT INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Need of Defining It. Recent Works.*¹

Introductions may be too prominent. The vestibule may be too large for the building. Preliminaries may involve even essential matters, and subject them to a kind of provisional treatment. For such reasons the word "Introduction,"² as applied to the Scriptures, should be more sharply defined. Instead of covering all that is introductory to their study and exposition, should it not be limited to their intelligent reception? It includes at least the history of the sacred books and of their collection in the Canon.

Räbiger³ prefers the phrase "Biblical Isagogics," and defines it as "the History of the Hebrew-Jewish literature," including the extra-canonical writings

¹ We aim to review the literature, American, English and German, of 1884-5, so as to indicate its value, and gather from it what is most important in its New Testament bearings.

² It may be traced back to Adrian of the fifth century. It has been used so vaguely that Schleiermacher calls it "a science without limits." With DeWette, Bleek, and Schultze, it goes beyond its proper province.

³ *Encyclopædia of Theology*, by Dr. J. F. Räbiger. Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1884.

and excluding the Canon. But nothing is biblical apart from its canonicity: nor need we depart from "the historico-critical standpoint" by distinguishing between canonical and uncanonical writings.

From the father of New Testament historical criticism, Dionysius of Alexandria,¹ a pupil of Origen, about A. D. 250, and the father of modern New Testament criticism, J. S. Semler,² A. D. 1775, we came as long ago as 1842 to Reuss' *History*,³ which reached its fifth German edition in 1874, and is now translated, with its bibliography and index enlarged. It is not intended as an "Introduction," but as a complete and independent history. It has five divisions, relating to the origin, collection, preservation, dissemination and use of the sacred books. It is divided not by distinct periods but by related facts. It is packed full of the details of criticism, but is broadly rationalistic, and it hardly represents the latest scholarship.

Reuss includes among the Scriptures not only the books recognized as authentic, but "all writings which have at any time been referred to the Apostles and their inspiration," and treats the New Testament Apocrypha as sacred, indeed all Christians as inspired. He takes Scripture and tradition as "the common source of knowledge and rule of doctrine."

¹ He granted the canonicity of the Apocalypse, but disputed its apostolic authorship.

² He first sharply distinguished the Word of God from the Scriptures that contained it, and discussed the claims of particular books, and gave special prominence to that internal evidence which varies with the subjective caprice of the critic.

³ *History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament*, by Eduard Reuss, translated by E. L. Houghton. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1884.

This appears in his more recent *History of the Canon*.¹ He does not assign to Scripture any such exclusive authority or peculiar value as belongs to a well-settled Canon. But he shows that the Apostles had no idea of writing for distant ages; that instead of being raised above error at the Pentecost, they were endowed with power chiefly for action; that their new ideas were of gradual growth; that their discourses were probably impromptu and afterwards reduced to writing; that the Christian church was founded and extended before there was any Christian literature—in short, that the New Testament Canon was formed by degrees, and never so fixed that the generations following had only to accept it.

Zöckler's *Handbuch*,² in its second edition, as revised and supplemented, is perhaps the most complete and helpful guide, at least in its *New Testament Introduction*, and its *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*. Its character is distinctly evangelical.

Farrar's *Messages of the Books*³ preaches a separate discourse on each New Testament book, setting forth not its authenticity but its scope and meaning, with appended notes, in which he gives leading ideas, special expressions, outlines, and dates. He illustrates some of them admirably, Mark and Luke, however, better than Matthew or John; Acts and Corinthians better than Romans. He holds

¹ Translated from the French by D. Hunter, 1884.

² *Handbuch der Theologischen Wissenschaften*, von Dr. O. Zöckler. Nordlingen, 1884.

³ *The Messages of the Books*, by F. W. Farrar. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1885.

that all the Gospels were written within fifty years after the death of Jesus, and vindicates the Fourth as genuine. He ascribes thirteen Epistles to Paul, Hebrews rather to Apollos. As to the form of the Epistles, he says that Christianity is "unique." "Of all the sacred books which the world has seen, there is not one which is composed mainly or at all of letters, with the single exception of the New Testament."

Salmon's *Introduction*¹ is the latest, and consists of twenty-five apologetic lectures, relating mainly to the authorship and date of books, not to their text or contents. He spends his strength on the weaker points, only with a diffuse style, and with more polemic than critical power. He holds that our Matthew was the original Matthew; that the last verses of Mark were Mark's; that James was written very early, and without reference to Romans; that Peter wrote his first Epistle from Rome, and wrote II. Peter also, and could not have depended on Josephus; that Paul wrote the Pastoral Epistles, and must have been released from his first imprisonment at Rome; that Hebrews was written from Italy before A. D. 63, probably by Barnabas, to the Jews of Palestine.

§ 2. *Pending Questions. Pseudepigraphy.*

Is it admissible—the theory of spurious authorship in a sacred writing? Surely not in the sense that what *claims* to have been written by one author

¹ *Historical Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, by Dr. George Salmon, of Dublin. London, J. Murray, 1885.

was written by another, only in the sense that what has been attributed to one may have been written by another. Yet we must look at this from the old Jewish and early Christian point of view. Jude quotes from the *so-called* book of Enoch. What if Peter did not write II Peter, nor Paul Ephesians or Timothy and Titus? Prof. H. Ewald, on "Revelation," the first volume of which is now translated,¹ sheds some light on the origin of the Scriptures. He declares that Ephesians, I and II Timothy and Titus were written only in the name of Paul, II Peter only in the name of Peter, and calls this "artificial authorship." Edersheim² says "Pseudonymic writings were common in that age, and a Jew might perhaps plead that even in the Old Testament, books had been headed by names which confessedly were not those of their authors (such as Samuel, Ruth, Esther). If those inspired poets, who sang in the spirit and echoed the strains of Asaph, adopted that designation, and the sons of Korah preferred to be known by that title, might not they who could no longer claim the authority of inspiration seek attention for their utterances by adopting the names of those in whose spirit they professed to write?" Farrar³ says, "The adoption of an honored name which was not the name of the author was common in Jewish literature. It must not be called by the hard name of literary forgery. In many instances it was not at all intended to deceive. A man wrote

¹ Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1884.

² *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, N. Y., Randolph & Co., 1884.

³ *The Messages of the Books*, N. Y., E. P. Dutton & Co., 1885.

in the name of some great and well known person because he desired to claim the sanction of high authority; because he believed his teaching to be in accordance with that of the writer whose name he assumed." So, then, no question of mere authorship is vital. It is well to distinguish between genuine writings and authentic. For those not genuine, that is, not written by those whose names they bear, may be authentic, that is, amply confirmed in their recorded facts and teachings. This distinction is important in dealing with modern critics. It applies to the Gospels, no one of which names its author, and of which we know only the traditional authors. But does it apply to Letters opening with the salutation or signed by the handwriting of an apostle? It matters not, when or where, or by whom, a book is written, or how much it is worked over and interpolated by a later hand, if its substantial contents are beyond question. But an unknown or reputed author is not like a pretended one. We should be slow to believe that a professed author is not the real one. In Paul's and Peter's Letters authenticity evidently involves genuineness. The Second Epistle of Peter *claims* to be from Peter when it begins "Simon Peter, a servant and apostle of Jesus Christ," and adds, "We were with him in the holy mount."¹

§ 3. *How early were the New Testament writings collected and co-ordinated with the Old?*

Reuss says, "Not until the middle of the second century. Others, "not until Theophilus," or A.

¹ Cf. R. Steck, *Ueber die Annahme sog. unechter Schriften im Neuen Testament*, Theo. Zeitschrift, 1884.

D. 170. But I Tim. v., 18 appears to quote Deuteronomy and Luke as alike *γραφῇ*. Second Peter, iii., 16, refers to Paul's Epistles and the other recognised *γραφαί*, including, perhaps, some Gospels as well as Epistles. Prof. B. B. Warfield examines "The descriptive names applied to the New Testament books by the earliest Christian writers,"¹ or before A. D. 175, and concludes, "It appears that there was *from the beginning* of the second century a collection (Ignatius, 2 Clement, Marcion) of "New Books" (Ignatius), called the "Gospel and Apostles" (Ignatius, Marcion), esteemed as the "Oracles" of God (Polycarp, Papias, 2 Clement), and "Scripture" (I Timothy, II Peter, Barnabas, Polycarp, 2 Clement, Basilides), which was attached to the Old Books as part of one "Holy Canon" (Test. xii., Patriarchs²) with them." His article bears against the co-ordination of the New Testament canonical and uncanonical writings, for he adds, "Perhaps no single case occurs of an application to any apocryphal book of the New Testament of any of the titles by any thoroughly orthodox writer of the first seventy-five years of the second century."

§ 4. *The Synoptics. Their origin.*

No new light has dawned on the synoptical problem. D. Schultze³ describes its complications, op-

¹ *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1885. ² *Zöckler's Handbuch*, 1884.

³ "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," puts Paul's writings and Acts with the Old Testament as if to canonize them. Its text has been examined repeatedly since Nitzsch, in 1810, but now more carefully by F. Schnapp, who assigns it to the last half of the second century. It is ascribed to the first quarter of it by scholars generally (Spence).

posing, with Holtzmann and Keim, the priority of Mark as defended by Weiss, agreeing with Holsten that Matthew wrote first, at least in his Hebrew Gospel, which Luke, he thinks, had before him, ascribing more than is common with German critics to oral sources, as in Mark to Peter's preaching and in Luke to Paul's. *The Mishna as Illustrating the Gospels*, by W. H. Bennett,¹ though not founded on the original Mishna, shows how the original Mishna and Gospels alike were based on oral tradition. G. Wetzel² favors the oral theory, yet thinks that Mark and Luke were Matthew's scholars and took notes from his instructions. P. Feine³ finds the base of the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew, but not its historical form in either Matthew or Luke, both of which have torn the sayings of Jesus out of their original connections and pieced them together, all three Synoptists having used an original Mark. A. Jacobsen⁴ thinks that Luke took from Matthew and Matthew from Mark, yet not from the original Mark. A. Hilgenfeld,⁵ following Hieronymus and Lessing, insists that the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, which Papias, Irenaeus and others believed to have been written by Matthew, was "the most ancient root of all the Gospels, whether within or without the Canon." R. A. Lipsius⁶ calls it "love's labor lost," to explain their origin by an earlier Gospel, and thinks that Pa-

¹ Cambridge, 1884.

² *Die Synoptischen Evangelien*, Heilbronn, 1883.

See *Edersheim on Wetzel's Theory*, *Studia Biblica*, Oxford, 1885.

³ *Ueber das gegenseitige Verhältniss der Texte der Bergpredigt*, Leipzig, 1885.

⁴ *Untersuchungen über die Synoptischen Evangelien*, Berlin, 1883.

⁵ *Evangeliorum*, Lipsiae, 1884. ⁶ *Jahrbücher*, 1885.

pias referred to Matthew and Mark as we have them. Farrar¹ holds that Matthew wrote first, and regards the opinion that he wrote originally in Hebrew as a probable mistake of Papias. E. A. Abbott translates into English the first part of *Rushbrooke's Synopticon*,² to exhibit in black type "the matter common to the first three Evangelists," and treats this "triple tradition" as the earliest Gospel and original source of the first three Gospels, assuming its pre-existence and their independence, also that paucity of peculiar matter, as in Mark, is a sign of priority in time, and that what is peculiar to any one Gospel is less certain than the rest of it, whereas the "triple tradition," as Salinon shows, would be but singly attested, and would have in it no story of our Lord's passion or resurrection. W. Sanday³ adopts, in the main, the German theory that the common element in them is derived not from oral but from written sources, chiefly from the two documents mentioned by Papias, viz., Matthew's *λόγια* of our Lord and Mark's notes of Peter's preaching, yet concedes that the Germans have not done justice to oral tradition, and favors Holtzmann's theory of the priority of Mark as modified by Weiss, who makes Mark to be based, indeed, on Mark's notes of Peter's preaching, but combined with Mark's own recollections of the oral tradition current at Jerusalem, instead of with any written Matthew. A. B. Bruce⁴ argues that, probably, Matthew and Luke depended on Mark,

¹ *The Messages of the Books*, New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1885.

² London, 1884.

³ *The Study of the New Testament. An Inaugural Lecture*, Oxford, 1883. ⁴ *The Presbyterian Review*, 1884.

either on an original Mark, as Holtzmann said, or, as Weiss says, on our present Mark, which short Gospel, though a poor one to come after, was a good one to begin with. Here, then, is a chaos of speculations—the despair of critics. How can the problem be solved without some new discovery?

§ 5. *The Four Gospels.*

It appears to be settled that Tatian's *Diatessaron* was based on our four Gospels, the Fourth on the same footing as the other three. This is confirmed by the recovery of parts of it in a Latin Version of an¹ Armenian Commentary on it by Ephraem Syrus, about A. D. 370, which suggests whether the *Diatessaron* was not written originally in Syriac, as Zahn contends, instead of in Greek, as Hort and Harnack hold, especially as there is at the Vatican, according to Cardinal Pitra,¹ an Arabic Version of it, which has been described by Father Ciasca² and identified with the text commented on by Ephraem. This new view of its having a Syriac original, which Lagarde, Wace² and Sanday favor, may bring it into some relation to the Curetonian Syriac Version. But who can carry us back of Tatian?

No doubt Tatian's teacher, Justin Martyr, about A. D. 150, who appeals to "*Memoirs made by the Apostles, which are called Gospels,*" once even to "*Memoirs composed by the Apostles of Christ and those who followed with them,*" meaning our pre-

¹ *Analecta Sacra*. ² *Expositor*, 1882. *Monthly Interpreter*, 1885.

sent Gospels including the Fourth, as Ezra Abbot claimed, and Hilgenfeld, Keim, Weiss, Schultze, Westcott and Sanday admit.

Perhaps *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, found at Constantinople, and published by Bishop Briennios, in 1883, takes us back to the first century. For scholars incline to put it earlier than they did at first.¹ It reflects the teachings and usages of the sub-apostolic age. It prescribes fasting twice a week, favors river baptism or baptism in flowing water, probably immersion, yet accepts aspersion or sprinkling on the head if there is a scarcity of water,² and recognizes the Lord's Day. It is simple in its precepts and antique in its tone. It goes well with Hermas³ and Barnabas, whether before them as Hitchcock says, or between them as says Zahn. Von Gebhardt finds evidence of its genuineness in a Latin MS. of the twelfth century, translated by Pez. Harnack argues that it was written in Egypt, which appears to be the common theory. Bishop Lightfoot⁴ dates it back to A. D. 80-110, because it connects the Eucharist with the Agape, identifies bishop and presbyter, and has an itinerant alongside of a localised ministry. He finds that it quotes

¹ Briennios dated it A. D. 120-160. Delitzsch, in the first half of the second century. Harnack and Hilgenfeld, A. D. 160-190. Even Volkmar no later than A. D. 134. Sabatier, early in the last half of the first century. Canon Spence, about A. D. 80.

² Cf. A. Hilgenfeld on *Die urchristliche Taufe*, *Zeitschrift*, 1885.

³ Hermas is put later than 100 by the Muratorian Canon and later than Theodotion by J. R. Harris, who holds that Hermas depends on Daniel, or as Hort puts it, "on Theodotion's Version of Daniel rather than the LXX," but Salmon thinks that this does not prove Hermas to be later than 100.

⁴ *Expositor*, London, 1885.

Matthew, especially the Sermon on the Mount, gives the Lord's Prayer with a doxology and the formula of baptism, echoes some sayings of Luke, shows an acquaintance with four Letters of Paul, viz., Romans, I Corinthians, Ephesians, II Thessalonians, possibly also with I Peter, but not with John's writings.

Schultze¹ finds in it traces also of Acts, James, I Thessalonians, I Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews, the Apocalypse and even John's Gospel. Harnack and Spence find in it "Memories of John."² Whether or not it was anterior to the New Testament Canon, and even if it does not refer to Paul or John, it has great value as confirming the earlier Gospels.

§ 6. *The Acts.*

H. H. Evans⁴ boldly contends that Paul was the author of Acts and of the Third Gospel. He argues

¹ *Zöckler's Handbuch*, 1884.

² The best edition of it as a text-book is by Profs. Hitchcock and Brown (New York, 1885); the best as a digest of learning, by Dr. Schaff (New York, 1885); the best for beauty and suggestive notes, by Canon Spence (London, 1885).

³ With the *Teaching*, Lightfoot (*Expositor*, London, 1885) associates Ramsey's discovery, in 1883, at Hieropolis, Phrygia, of an epitaph in which Abercius says that he is a disciple of the pure Shepherd, that the Shepherd taught him "faithful writings" and sent him to Rome, where he saw the Queen and a people with a bright seal, whence he went to Syria, found everywhere comrades, took Paul for his companion and was led by faith to take for food a fish which had been grasped by a pure virgin and was offered to friends with bread and wine, alluding plainly to the Good Shepherd of John's Gospel, the Church of Rome with its seal of baptism, Paul's journeys if not letters, the divine *ichthus*, the virgin mother and the Lord's Supper; probably a monument of the second century by one who, as he was in his seventy-second year, may have lived soon after the death of John.

⁴ London, 1884.

strongly from words which are common or peculiar to Luke and Paul. But resemblance, however striking, is not identity. He fails to show that the author of the Third Gospel was a Jew, that Luke had not the capacity or authority to write it, why it was attributed to Luke from Irenaeus down, or how the 'we' passages could come naturally from Paul. He shows at most that Paul *might* have written them. He makes a needless attempt to supply a missing link between the Gospels and Epistles, and to prove that Luke's Gospel was written before A. D. 70, and stamped with Paul's authority—all as against Strauss and Zeller. A. Jacobsen claims that Acts i-xii., was made out of the Pauline Epistles and the Gospel narratives and by the writer of the Third Gospel, but much later.¹ H. Holtzmann also writes on the same topic.²

§ 7. *Paul's Epistles.*

The extreme negative critics, like Wittichen, have left to us as genuine, says Edersheim,³ "Romans (with the exception of the greater part of the last two chapters), Corinthians, Galatians, I Thessalonians, parts of Colossians and of II Timothy, Philemon and Philippians," enough to confirm the essential facts and doctrines of the Gospels. So then, when Rübiger says that the Synoptists idealize the life of Jesus and that even the resurrection was a "poem of the future" rather than a strict historic fact, we stand

¹ *Die Quellen der Apostelgeschichte*, Berlin, 1885.

² *Zeitschrift*, 1885.

³ *Prophecy and History*, New York, Randolph & Co., 1885.

with Baur, Renan and Keim on Paul's "four undisputed Epistles," and ask, with Joseph Cook, in his recent lecture on the *Christian Evidences*, "Is Paul a dupe?"

Prof. Warfield discusses the date of Galatians and holds that it was written probably at Ephesus, A. D. 57, just before I Corinthians.¹

To whom was Romans addressed? To Jewish or Gentile Christians? To the former, say Weizsäcker and now Mangold² (relying chiefly on vii., 4-6). So H. W. Beecher, in opening a *Symposium on Romans*³, which leads Prof. Godet³ to ask, "If so, why the first seven verses? Why treat them as Gentiles in vs. 6? Why vs. 13? Why call them 'you' and the Jews 'they'? Why prove the corruption of the heathen world? Why speak of Abraham as an uncircumcised heathen? Why go back to Adam as the head of humanity?"

Which of the Epistles of the Captivity was earliest? "Philippians," says Farrar, relying chiefly on its affinity with Romans. Lightfoot puts Philippians before Colossians. This is against the common view, from De Wette and Meyer to Schultze. Ephesians is most like Romans in its character as a treatise, and most like Galatians in having no personal greetings. Philippians seems nearest to death or deliverance; but the order is unimportant. Holtzmann compared Ephesians and Colossians critically, and found seven passages which indicated Ephesians,

¹ *Journal of Soc. of Bib. Lit. & Ex.*, Boston, 1884.

² *Der Römerbrief und seine geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen*, Marburg, 1884.

³ *Homiletic Review*, 1884.

seven passages also which indicated Colossians, to be the original. So uncertain is the issue! He will let nothing stand as Paul's which is not undoubtedly Pauline. Hence he holds that Colossians has only a Pauline nucleus. Von Soden follows him in three elaborate articles.¹ By this arbitrary rule how much might be excluded! Should we not accept rather as Paul's what is not evidently un-Pauline, and especially what nobody can have had any clear motive to add or insert?

I. Thessalonians P. Schmidt² accepts, though he gives it no proper historical setting, and degrades II. Thessalonians into a mere appendix to it, and runs into apocalyptic fancies in explaining it. Von Soden³ shows most clearly its Pauline character and early origin. Assuming that it came before II. Thessalonians, which Grotius, Baur and Ewald disputed, he argues strongly from its language, style, doctrinal contents and historical data. Here, he would say, is nothing about apocalyptic fulfilments, as in II. Thessalonians; about Gnostic dogmas, as in Colossians; about the catholic church, as in Ephesians; about an incipient hierarchy, as in the Pastoral Letters; about such coming persecution, as in I. Peter. The presence of gifts, the primitive aspects of the Christian life, the comforting for the dead, the hope of living until the near advent, the strong admonition to share the letter with all the

¹ *Der Colosserbrief, Jahrbücher*, 1885.

² *Der erste Thessalonicherbrief neu erklärt. Nebst einem Excurs über den zweiten gleichnamigen Brief*. Berlin, 1885.

³ *Studien und Kritiken*, 1885.

brethren, are plain signs of the early apostolic time. It has none of the colors of a later day.

The Pastoral Epistles are distinguished obviously by the prominence they give to doctrine, by many peculiarities of language, and by the historical difficulties of finding a place for them in any period of Paul's recorded life, or of determining the state of theological opinion to which they stand related. The result is, according to Dr. E. Hatch,¹ that a majority of critics question or deny their authenticity. J. Eylau² sheds no light on their chronology. How does the case stand? The evidence against them is all negative, viz., no such stress is laid by Paul elsewhere on sound doctrine, or on the true doctrine as a sacred deposit; no such words, to the number of 133, are found in Paul's other letters; nobody knows when Paul went into Macedonia and left Timothy at Ephesus; there is no clear record of his making his intended journey to Spain, or of his escaping from the prison at Rome, or being imprisoned more than once. On the negative side Holtzmann argues most ably. But the other side has at least some external evidence in Clement of Rome, in the Muratorian Canon, and in Eusebius.³ Besides, these Epistles are so intensely Pauline in their internal character, that the hypothesis of their spuriousness seems far more improbable than that of Paul's second imprisonment.

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

² *Zur Chronologie der Pastoralbriefe*, Landsberg, 1884.

³ On the negative side stand Reuss, Grau, Kölling, Beyschlag; the other is argued strongly by Huther, Schultze, Wace and Farrar.

§ 8. *Hebrews.*

Hebrews is handled in a searching though unsatisfactory way by Von Soden,¹ who assumes that it had concrete relations, and was not written to Jewish Christians in general, as Reuss, Lightfoot, and W. R. Smith maintain, nor by any one whose name can now be identified.² He insists that its readers had no relations to the Jewish temple, that it does not presuppose even the existence of Jerusalem or of the visible temple, since it is concerned rather with the Mosaic law, or with the tabernacle and its ritual; particularly that it was not aimed against the danger of falling back into Judaism. Nothing is said in it about being bound by the law or freed from the law. The grand point is the superiority of the new covenant to the old. The warnings are against departing from Christianity and Christian assemblies through inward laxness or under outward persecution. Indeed, the argument does not presuppose Jewish Christians at all, but only the Old Testament as the firm foundation of the New. From the fact observed by Ritschl and Holtzmann that nothing is said about circumcision—a burning question of Paul's day—it is inferred that the quarrel between Jewish and Gentile Christians was all over. The conclusion is, that Hebrews was written by an unknown man of Alexandrian education, prominent in the Roman community but absent from Rome, and probably far from Italy, to the Italian commu-

¹ *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, 1884.

² See *The Authorship of Hebrews*, by J. Barmby. *Monthly Interpreter*, 1885.

nities, near the end of Domitian's reign, in order to strengthen the faith of those who were about to suffer persecution.

But what if it gives no proof that the temple was standing, or applies very well to those who had no part in its rites, and even to those who had no Jewish associations? Still there are passages¹ in it which are explained *best* by supposing that it was written when there were actual sacrifices, in the doomed city and temple. It is adapted *chiefly* to Jewish Christians. "The Jerusalem hypothesis," which Von Soden rejects, appears most natural.² These questions, however, do not involve its doctrines, since it is written not from a local but a typical and ideal point of view.

§ 9. *The Catholic Epistles.*

Von Soden¹ says on the Epistle of James, "We cannot go beyond conjectures." His conjecture is, that James was not the author but patron of it, his name having been used to give it authority, that it was written as late as Domitian, that it is as far from being Jewish-Christian as from being Pauline, that its silence in regard to Jerusalem and the temple and the exciting questions of Paul's day, its undeveloped Christology, its peculiar ideas of faith and the new law, are explained by putting it after instead of before Paul, and so long after, that faith in Jesus had

¹ Hebrews viii, 4, 13; ix, 7-9; x, 1-4, 11; xiii, 10-14.

² Schultze defends it, yet some suppose Hebrews to have been sent to Alexandria (Credner, Reuss, Hilgenfeld), and not a few to Rome (Holtzmann, Alford, Zahn, Harnack, Pfeiderer, Mangold).

¹ *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, 1884.

declined. W. Schmidt¹ insists that one not an apostle, nor even a believer until after the resurrection, was not likely to write before any apostle, nor likely to have his name known, or his word of much weight, among the Jews away from Jerusalem, that his references to the Sermon on the Mount pre-suppose some written account of it, that his language about faith and justification comes more naturally after Paul's Letters to the Romans and Galatians, and that the Jewish Christian churches addressed must have existed long enough for the Gospel to spread from the poor to the rich, for the rich to decline in faith and love, and for the poor to depend on mere formal professions. A. Klöpper² urges that James could not have been written before or during Paul's apostleship, but only after considerable degeneracy. With Reuss, Holtzmann, Schultze and Farrar, they date it as late as 62 A. D. But recent critics³ incline to put it earlier, perhaps before the Council at Jerusalem, A. D. 50, to which it makes no allusion though written at Jerusalem. If James was our Lord's brother, and so prominent as he appears in that Council, the same James of whom we read in I Cor. xv., 7, Acts xii., 7, xxi, 28, Gal. i., 19, ii., 9, in Josephus and Hegesippus and the Clementine Homilies,⁴ if he stayed in Jerusalem while the Apos-

¹ *Predigt und Vorträge über den Charakter und die Abfassungszeit des Jacobusbriefes.*

² *Zeitschrift für wiss. Theologie*, Leipzig, 1885.

³ From Neander, v. Hofmann, Lange, Huther, Alford, Schaft, Weiss, Ritschl to Beyschlag, Mangold, Thomson, Plumptre, Gloag, Warfield, Salmon, Wordsworth.

⁴ See the traditions concerning James in *Die Apocryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, von R. A. Lipsius, Braunschweig, 1884.

tles were away and while the Jews came there in crowds, he may have been looked up to at first by Jewish converts more even than Peter, and was very likely not only to write to Jewish Christians but to write earlier than any evangelist or apostle. His Epistle is obviously Judaic,¹ nor is it degeneracy so much as a danger to which Jewish and other converts are always subject which it pre-supposes in the sins of the rich, and sins of the tongue and failures to live a wise, patient, prayerful, useful life, and perils of judgment. Nor did it need to be written after 45-50 A. D. in order that there should be "elders" (Acts ii., 5-11, xi., 30). Moreover, the Catholic Epistles precede Paul's in the most approved MSS. and Versions.²

Where Peter wrote his First Epistle is discussed by P. W. Seufert.³ That "the co-elect one in Babylon" refers to the old and famous Babylon has been held by most.⁴ That Babylon existed in Peter's day is admitted. That there may have been in it a Jewish Christian community is argued by Schürer and Zeller. That Peter names the five provinces to which he wrote in the order in which they would

¹ In such words as "to the twelve tribes," "the perfect law," "pure religion," "your synagogue," "the name by which ye are called," "thou believest that God is one," "Abraham our father," "the coming of the Lord is at hand," and even in "ye see that by works a man is justified and not by faith only," which, instead of being aimed at Paul, as the Tübingen school insist, is "a polemic against an original Jewish ritualism" (Warfield).

² Wordsworth and Sanday have written recently on the Corbey St. James, the former arguing strongly that James was written originally in Aramaic, *Studia Biblica*, Oxford, 1885.

³ *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1885.

⁴ Including Erasmus, Calvin, Neander, De Wette, Wieseler, Weiss, Bleek, Reuss, Keil, Mangold, Hare, Grimm, Lipsius, and Schultze.

occur to one writing from the East, was suggested by Bengel. But whether he was likely to be at Babylon with Silvanus, or to hear and write there about coming persecution at Rome, or to have there the Letters of Paul to the Romans and Ephesians to which he evidently refers, is uncertain. Josephus says that the Jews were exterminated from Babylon in Caligula's reign about 40 A. D. There is no account of any Christian church at Babylon. Hence the older view,¹ that Babylon means Rome, appears more plausible. The heathen capital might well be called by the name of the old heathen capital; nor was such a reference to it likely to be unintelligible when Peter wrote or where the Apocalypse went.

The *Hypotyposeis*, or Outlines of Clement, now published by Zahn,² authenticate especially the Catholic Epistles. We have them, it is true, only in fragments of Greek writers from Eusebius to Oecumenius. We cannot find in them any formal citation from James, nor any sign that he knew II Peter or III John. In the accompanying *Adumbrations* of Clement, translated into Latin, I Peter, Jude and I John are prominent. II John is quoted only once, II Peter and III John are missing. But Eusebius and Photius must have had the whole work of Clement before them. Eusebius says, "Clement has made concise explanations of Jude and the rest of the Catholic Epistles, as well as of Barnabas." Photius also says that the *Hypotyposeis* contain ex-

¹ That of Papias, Clemens Alex., Oecumenius, Luther, Grotius, Lardner, Caro, Ewald, Baur, Renan, Huther, Mason, Farrar and Cook.

² *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, Erlangen, 1884.

positions "of the Catholic Epistles." But here we grope under shadows. Those on whom we rely as witnesses to these minor Epistles did not distinguish sharply between Peter and Barnabas, or between Jude and Enoch, until at least the recognised Canon was completed.

§ 10. *The Apocalypse.*

*The Unity of the Apocalypse*¹ is ably defended by Prof. Warfield against the attack of Völter, who, following Vogel, A. D. 1816, breaks it into fragments and ascribes them to different authors, on the alleged grounds of a lack of coherence in its parts and of consistency in its chronology or Christology. He shows the madness of this critical method of dissecting what Lücke called "the noblest flower of Christian apocalyptic literature."²

¹ *Presbyterian Review*, April, 1884.

² With Harnack, Lee, Milligan, Schultze and Tait, he favors the later date for it or reign of Domitian, though Grotius, Wetstein, Credner, Lücke, Gebhardt, Weiss, Hilgenfeld, Reuss, Ewald, Schaff, Westcott, Plumptre and Farrar prefer some earlier date, the reign of Claudius, Nero or Galba.

CHAPTER II.

THE NEW TESTAMENT TEXT.

§ 11. *Dr. C. R. Gregory's Prolegomena.*

The first part of his *Prolegomena to Tischendorf's Eighth Critical Edition of the New Testament*, written in Latin,¹ is the most scholarly work of the year. It was prepared with the aid of Dr. Ezra Abbot,² of Cambridge, to whom Dr. Gregory submitted the proofs, and from whom he received many valuable suggestions. It describes Tischendorf's immense labors, critical apparatus and rules for determining the text. It has most value in Sections V-VII.

Section V gives the most complete account of the order of books and of the division into chapters and verses. No theory of the progress of doctrine is secure if based on the traditional or authorized order.

Section VI gives a history of the text, or of its recensions since Bengel, recognizing not only the usual four sources of it, viz., the Alexandrine and Occidental, the Antiochian and Constantinopolitan, but a fifth, or Ante-Syrian, under the ambiguous

¹ Lipsiae, J. C. Hinrich, 1884.

² Dr. Abbot's memoranda of additions and corrections to the Third Edition of Scrivener's *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, with notes by Profs. Harris and Warfield and by Dr. Gregory, are edited by Prof. J. H. Thayer, and published as an appendix to *The Andover Review*, by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Cambridge, 1885.

name Alexandrine; also, a history of its editions since the Complutensian of A. D. 1514-1675. Here it refers to the relations of Tischendorf to Tregelles, and compares the text of Tregelles and that of Westcott and Hort with that of Tischendorf.

Section VII treats of the Uncial MSS. which, it is said, number 88, of which 66 pertain to the Gospels, 15 to Acts, 7 to the Catholic Epistles, 20 to Paul's and 5 to the Apocalypse; of which two are assigned to the fourth century, 10 to the fifth, 22 to the sixth, 9 to the seventh, 8 to the eighth, 31 to the ninth, 6 to the tenth.

§ 12. *Prof. John Wordsworth's Old Latin Biblical Texts.*

These he is editing and publishing at the Clarendon Press.¹ No. I. is *The Gospel according to St. Matthew from the St. Germain MS.*, now in the National Library, at Paris. After describing the MS. he traces its history from R. Stephens, A. D. 1538, showing that its text is distinctly Old Latin, with only a small mixture of the Vulgate. This is one of the three Latin MSS. which have the peculiar order of books, Gospels, Acts, Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse, Paul's Epistles. His thoroughness appears in the learned Appendix, with its large amount of new information about the Latin codices used by Stephens and Erasmus, giving due honor to Bentley and even to Bentley's assistant, John Walker. At his request the errors of *Martianay's Col-*

¹ Oxford, 1883.

lation are pointed out in a list prepared by Mr. G. M. Youngman.¹

§ 13. *The Abbé J. P. P. Martin's Work.*

This Roman Catholic Professor in Paris has published the last of his four splendid quartos on New Testament criticism,² of which the first appeared in 1883, and the last describes sixty-five strange Paris MSS. or forty-eight cursives, sixteen lectionaries, and one new Uncial which he names Codex Martinianus. In his *Partie Theorique* he wrote at great length about the Syriac Versions, thinking that the Peshitto in its present form was made in "the last half of the first or first quarter of the second century," and that the Curetonian Syriac was a later revision instead of an earlier form of it, to which novel opinion even Prof. E. Nestle³ inclines in his article on the Syriac Versions, and G. H. Gwilliam very decidedly.⁴ In the *first* volume of his *Partie Pratique* Martin devotes three hundred pages to MSS. Aleph, A, B, C, D, which represent, he thinks, "an eclectic text whose elements have been gathered from the Fathers." The text from the quotations instead of the quotations from the text! The Received text original and the Vatican or Sinaitic

¹ Cf. Belsheim's *Der Brief des Jacobus in alten lateinischer Uebersetzung*, 1884.

Sanday claims that all the texts we have of the Old Latin Version come from two sources or "parent stocks," the African and the European. *Studia Biblica*, Oxford, 1885.

² *Introduction a la Critique textuelle de Nouveau Testament*, 1884.

³ Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*.

⁴ *Studia Biblica*, Oxford, 1885.

fabricated! The *second* volume of it contains the most elaborate defense of Mark xvi., 9-20, claiming that not only Irenaeus and Justin (as Hort admits) but Papias, Tatian, Hippolytus, the Apostolical Constitutions and the Gesta Pilati quote these verses. But his argument, as Prof. Warfield¹ shows, does not touch the main points in the controversy. In the same strain writes Prof. Dolman on "Vaticanism."² J. H. A. Michelsen also defends the Received text current from the fourth to the sixteenth century, as an independent witness to the older text, and as a help in deciding between readings, though not in itself so pure as the older MSS.

§ 14. *Prof. Isaac H. Hall's Articles.*

This American Professor, of Philadelphia, is devoting himself to New Testament texts and versions, as appears not only in his "List of published Uncial MSS." and "List of printed editions of the Greek New Testament" in Schaff's *Companion*,³ of which we have now a new edition, and in his "Critical Bibliography of the Greek New Testament as published in America,"⁴ but in his edition of Engle's *Polymicrian*⁵ his account of a *new Syriac MS.*,⁴ dating from A. D. 1491, belonging to R. S. Williams, of Utica, N. Y., which has great value because it contains the *seven* Catholic Epistles which, with the Apocalypse, are wanting in the common

¹ *Presbyterian Review*, 1885.

² *Dublin Review*, 1884. *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1884.

³ New York, 1884.

⁴ Philadelphia, 1883.

⁵ *Journal of the Soc. of Bib. Lit. and Ex.*, Middletown, 1883.

Syriac Version, his paper on the *Syriac Apocalypse*, and his description, with three facsimile illustrations, of the *Beirut Syriac MS.*,¹ obtained by Dr. Van Dyke from the Jacobite Monastery in Damascus, containing an Evangelistarium with lessons from the Gospels, and a Menology or table of fasts, feasts and saint-days, dating perhaps from the ninth century, and representing the Philoxenian Version, belonging to the Syrian Protestant College of Beirut, but deposited in the Library of the Union Theological Seminary, N. Y., not to speak of other *Syriac MSS.* as *The Syriac Letter of Abgar.*²

§ 15. *Conjectural Criticism.*

To the works of Dr. W. C. Van Manen and Dr. Van de S. Bakhuyzen, of Holland, on *Conjectural Criticism applied to the New Testament* are added now at Utrecht, those of Koe and Baljon, the one relating to the text of John's Gospel, the other to the text of Romans, Corinthians and Galatians. Von Gebhardt³ finds fault with them for treating this subject without regard to Westcott and Hort's work of 1881. Well may he censure Scrivener⁴ for saying, "It is now agreed among competent judges that conjectural emendation must never be resorted to even in passages of acknowledged difficulty." Scrivener adds, "the conjectures of able and accomplished men have never been such as to approve

¹ *Independent*, 1884, and *Journal of Soc. of Bib. Lit. and Ex.*, Boston, 1884.

² *Independent*, 1885.

³ *Literaturzeitung*, 1884. ⁴ *A Plain Introduction*, 1883.

themselves to any but their authors." He calls conjecture "an ingenious exercise of the imagination." Dr. Chambers, of the Old Testament Revision, says "Conjectural emendations are of no value." But this is going too far. Tischendorf and Tregelles did not favor "conjectural emendation." But with Lachmann, Lightfoot, Westcott and others we *must sometimes* resort to it. Rübiger calls it a "divinatory procedure." Only let us remember its true character. According to Hort, it is "a critical operation founded on knowledge and method." It depends "on intrinsic and transcriptional evidence alike." Says Warfield, "Every resort to it and every use of it in cases where intrinsic and transcriptional evidence do not unite to compel the resort and suggest the remedy, is not only precarious but unjustifiable." Certainly we ought never to acquiesce in mere plausible corrections. But neither ought we to accept any obvious absurdity or incongruity, however strongly attested. A happy conjecture must always be better than an evident error or corruption. But we should not take any mere conjecture into the text. Bentley said, in his *Prospectus* of A.D. 1720, "If the author has anything to suggest towards a change of the text, not supported by any copies now extant, he will offer it separate in his *Prolegomena*." Those who do not adopt conjecture in the reading are apt to do so in the rendering, as Warfield, who concludes in regard to Acts xi., 20,¹ that the reading must be 'Hellenists' instead of 'Greeks,' but takes it in the broad sense of

¹ *Journal of the Society of Bib. Ex. and Lit.*, Middletown, 1883.

“Graecisers.” Prof. J. R. Harris¹ does not admit that the day of conjectures is past in any book of the New Testament, but adds, “Only the man that would deal with them must be armed with iron and brass, and have plenty of palaeographic reasons which do not admit of alternatives.”²

§ 16. *Textual researches and discoveries.*

In this line there has been new interest among scholars since the Revision of 1881. What is to be learned from the great Papyri collection discovered by T. Graf, at Fayoum, Egypt, and brought to Europe, in which, at Berlin, is a piece of parchment with the first chapters of Thessalonians,³ and at Vienna, purchased by the Archduke Rénier, a fragment of Matthew assigned to the third century—older than the oldest MSS.! or more precisely, of Matt. xxvi., 30-34, and Mk. xiv., 26-30, yet so differing from both these passages, and so omitting from each the same words, viz., “But after I am raised up I will go before you into Galilee,” that Bickell⁴ thinks it “the earliest scrap of a written gospel not canonical,” perhaps one of those to which Luke refers in his preface, and Harnack⁵ infers from it that the original Matthew and Mark were not

¹ *American Journal of Philology*, 1885.

² Prof. Briggs says (*Presbyterian Review*, 1885), “Conjectural emendation of the Massoretic pointing ought to have been carried much further. It would have removed many Rabbinical conceits and glosses from the Hebrew Bible.”

³ *Landwehe's Philologus*, 1884.

Luthardt's Theo. Literaturblatt, 1884.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für Cath. Theol.*, 1885.

⁵ *Theo. Literaturzeitung*, 1885.

composed in their present form, while Hort¹ and Warfield,² Stokes³ and Woodruff⁴ show that it was more likely to be secondary than primary, "a fragment out of some homily which used our Gospels?" What from Maspero's⁵ new fragments of the Thebaic, from five MSS. dating from the fifth or sixth century? What from the Tischendorfian Sahidic fragments of Mark and Luke at St. Petersburg, published by von Lemm? What from the expedition to Mt. Athos, in 1880, by Prof. Lampros, who visited twenty Libraries and catalogued 5759, but has not yet reported its results? What from the *Bibliothèque*, founded in 1883, by Maurogordatos, published at Constantinople, for the purpose of describing the Greek MSS. preserved in the libraries of the Orient, of which the first volume records the results of a journey by Dr. Kerameus to the island of Lesbos, where 460 Greek MSS. were found (v. Gebhardt), 28 of which are described, but unfortunately only one that is Biblical, an Evangelistarium in an Uncial hitherto unknown, perhaps of the tenth century? What from the new fragment of Luke xxi., 30-xxii., 17, in the Harklensian Syriac, perhaps from the tenth century, reported by Prof. Long, of Constantinople, and described by Prof. Hall?⁶ Prof. Zahn finds a little light on the reading of I Tim. iii., 16, in a MS. of the Egyptian Museum in the Louvre, Paris. Dr. Gregory found recently at Treves another Uncial, one wrongly described by Scrivener, of which eight leaves have a

¹ *The Times*, 1885.

² *The Independent*, 1885.

³ *The Expositor*, 1885.

⁴ *The Andover Review*, 1885.

⁵ *Etudes Egyptiennes*, Paris, 1883.

⁶ *Independent*, 1885.

Gospel lectionary from the Menology for Christmas. He reports, also, an Uncial at Paris, not on the lists.¹ Lindsay and Nicholson publish the four Bodleian fragments² ascribed to the fourth or fifth century. Sanday describes the text of the *Codex Rossanensis*, of the sixth century.³ Mere scraps, perhaps, of antique and curious learning! But what buried treasures in the dust of ages!

§ 17. *Harmony of the Four Gospels.*

Robinson's *Harmony in Greek*, of A. D. 1851, is revised by Prof. Riddle,⁴ replacing Hahn's *Textus Receptus* with the text of Tischendorf's eighth edition and of the Revision of 1881, and adding foot-notes. The work of the harmonists has great value for those who would simply compare parallel passages, to see how they complete and confirm one another, though it involves in needless difficulty those who assume that there are and can be no real discrepancies—besides subjecting the Gospels to an arbitrary test.

¹ *Independent*, 1884.

² *Athenaeum*, 1885.

³ *Studia Biblica*, Oxford, 1885.

⁴ Boston, 1885, Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

CHAPTER III.

NEW TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION.

§ 18. *The English Translation.*

Since 1882, Prof. C. Short has given *The New Revision of the New Testament*¹ a minutely critical examination with reference to its changes in text and translation, confining himself thus far to Matthew. His notes have special value on points of English idiom, as the use of 'which' for persons, the omission of the article in English when it occurs in Greek, the disuse of 'them that' and 'how that,' or the use of an adjective with the force of an adverb. The question, however, should be, not when does good English require, but when *permit* the very form and order of the Greek to be preserved? Nor should an old English, much less a Latin or Romance word, be accepted where a pure English or modern English word will answer. It will be surprising if the Revision should escape from being revised or continue to be published without verbal changes, since, as Scrivener² says "numberless and not inconsiderable departures from the original or standard editions of the *authorized translation* as published in 1611, are to be found in the modern Bibles which issue from the press by thousands every year."

¹ *American Journal of Philology*, 1884.

² *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible, 1611; its subsequent Reprints and Modern Representatives*, Cambridge, 1884.

§ 19. *Exegesis.*

Reuss' *History of Exegesis*¹ is most instructive. He shows how it has suffered from a so-called gnosis, from a straining after types, from a vast labyrinth of allegory, from the ruling authority of tradition or overruling authority of the common faith, from the theory of a three-fold or four-fold sense from mystic conceit, dogmatic rigor or scholastic subtlety, from a subjective treatment of Scripture, from a search after fulness of meaning in it, from a pietistic devotion to it, and especially from the attempts of a rationalistic philosophy—Socinian or Arminian, Wolfian, Kantian or Hegelian, to bring it into harmony, if not into subjection to reason; how the exegetical oracles of their day, as Origen, Augustine, Luther or Calvin—the last, as Reuss says, “beyond all question the greatest exegete of the century,” have been swayed by dogmatic prejudice; how the true study of the New Testament arose in the school of Antioch with its basis of philology and sober regard for history, was brought about at length by the knowledge of the Greek language in Western Europe, and by the Protestant Reformation which appealed to Scripture as the sole authority in theology, and struggled on by the help of those “patient hod-carriers,” the grammars and lexicons, until after Ernesti and Semler it arrived at the grammatico-historical principle; not, however, without being still unduly influenced by some authority of the Church or theory of inspiration or

¹ *History of the New Testament*, Bk. v., Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1884.

apocalyptic fancy. How now shall we make a proper use of the Bible? escape from repeating the mistakes of the ages? stop the war of words about disputed passages? Reuss says, "Christian theologians have been laboring for 1700 years to fix by learning and speculation the meaning of certain pages which were written for the unlearned and simple-minded," and concludes with the "earnest warning uttered by history to those who forget that they should be servants, not of the letter which killeth but of the spirit which maketh alive."

§ 20. *Single Words.*

The particle *ἵνα* may be said to contain a system of theology. W. Hünzinger¹ thinks that as a final conjunction it carries always the idea of purpose and end. This disputed point he discusses thoroughly, admitting that its telic force is weakened, as after a verb of praying, conceding that it is used sometimes in an ecbatic sense,² but insisting that it refers to the result as *aimed at* or *intended*. So he agrees with Grimm, who says, "The sacred writers follow the dictate of piety which bids us trace all events back to God as their author and to refer them to God's purposes," and Winer,³ "The actual issues of events are spoken of interchangeably with the divine purposes." How much of Calvinism in a single Greek particle!

¹ *Luthardt's Zeitschrift*, 1884.

² As do Tittmann, Kühner, Green, Sophocles, Buttmann Lightfoot, Robinson.

³ Also with Fritsche, Alford, Meyer.

§ 21. *Συνείδησις*.

The word 'conscience,' as used in the New Testament, connotes much less than it does in modern philosophy and in many sermons. This P. Ewald shows in his Latin Essay.¹ He finds in it the old classic sense of Diogenes, Demosthenes, Plato and Philo, only with a more distinct individual stamp and ethical color. Examining all the New Testament passages in which the word occurs, he claims that Paul does not mean by it self-knowledge in general, nor any antecedent knowledge of duty, but simply an internal arbiter who bears witness for or against us. In Rom. ii., 15, Paul distinguishes it from "the law written in the heart," so that the work of the law which the heathen show is not the work of conscience, which *adds* rather its testimony in their self-accusing or self-excusing reflections. When Paul joins with it the adjectives 'weak,' 'good,' 'pure,' he indicates the quality of the conscience, which is not, therefore, in and of itself free from error or infirmity, even as a witness. What, then, of it as a law-giver, monitor, governor, threatener and rewarder? How can it be infallible or even imperative? Its work is altogether judicial. But is Ewald fair?

The word conscience, it is true, has no such place in Scripture as in philosophy. It comes only once in the Old Testament (Eccles. x., 20), once in the Apocrypha (Wisd. xvii., 2), and once in the

¹ *De vocis συνείδησεως vi et potestate*, Lipsiae, 1884. Cf. M. G. Hansen on *The word conscience in the Bible, Old Testament Student*, 1884.

Gospels (John viii., 9, not genuine). It is not used by Jesus at all, nor by any New Testament writer except three times in I Peter, five times in Hebrews, and over twenty times in Paul's Speeches or Letters. But when it is taken ethically so that it means 'conscience,' it is the self-judging function of the heart (*καρδία*). It was clearly recognized in its ethical import, though seldom used, in Stoic philosophy. "If not struck in the mint of the Stoics, it became current coin through their influence."¹ Our Lord refers to it without naming it as "the light that is in thee" (Matthew vi., 23). So does John (I John iii., 10-21). Cremer shows that it not only comes after but goes before action, testifying not only to one's own conduct but concerning his duty, even when God is not known, and especially as determined by the knowledge of God, and even concerning his religious needs and what alone can satisfy him as a sinner against God. It is "the consciousness man has of himself in his relation to God," and must include the sense of obligation, or "the law written in the heart." Indeed, it has not only immediate and intuitive, but rational and progressive self-knowledge. Still, it is no such moral faculty, or moral sense—no such oracle of God as is often claimed.

§ 22. Ὁσιότης.

A. Meinke² contrasts the New Testament idea of holiness with the Platonic. In the New Testament

¹ See Lightfoot on *Phillippians*, *St. Paul and Seneca*.

² *Studien und Kritiken*, 1884.

it denotes the collective moral life of the new man; in Plato, only a small part of human virtue. In the one, it rests on the new birth, in the other, on knowledge (*ἐπιστήμη*). But it is used only twice in the New Testament. This suggests what is greatly needed in view of recent works on Ethics by Frank, Janet, Fowler, Porter and others, viz.: a thorough analysis and definition of such words as *δικαιοσύνη*, *ἀρετή*, *ἀγάπη* in their relations to moral science.

§ 23. *Old Testament quotations in the New.*

The citations of the Old Testament in the New are treated by Kleinpaul,¹ who falls back on the general faith that the New Testament lies hid in the Old, and the Old Testament lies open in the New, as justified by our Lord when he said, "They are they that testify of me" (Jno. v., 39). He does not take the New Testament meaning of a passage for the genuine one, as did Augustine, Hieronymus and Luther, nor hold to any double sense, as did Origen, Eusebius, Calvin, Melancthon, Bengel and Stier, nor to any accommodation theory, like Semler, but like von Hofmann, Grau and Briggs, to an organic or pneumatic connection between the Testaments. It is this deeper view of them as all fulfilled in Christ which comes out in John's Gospel when Christ calls himself the true temple, the brazen serpent, the heavenly manna, the good shepherd. Our Lord was under human limitations, and could learn only what was taught in his day as to exposition. But Matt. xxii., 30, is the only place where he ar-

¹ *Der Beweis des Glaubens*, 1884.

gues in Rabbinic style. The Evangelists were unlearned, and gave simple Scriptural parallels. Paul seems to take out of the Old Testament more than lies in it, because he was trained in Rabbinic Schools and looked with Jewish eyes. The writer of Hebrews took greater freedom with the original historic sense because he wrote from a typical point of view.¹

§ 24. *Exegetical Essays; Gloag, Plumptre, Hölemann, Woolsey.*

Dr. Gloag publishes sixteen short *Essays*² on such difficult topics as *Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, Our Lord's blessing to Peter, The groaning creation, Baptism for the dead*. He states the theories of others clearly and fairly, but does not strongly commend his own.

A larger and more learned work is Dean Plumptre's *The Spirits in Prison*,³ distinctly advocating not only the 'Descent into Hades,' but that the work of Christ there was not limited to any representative instance or time boundaries, and even defending prayers for the dead. He discusses the New Testament teaching as to the life after death, purgatory, conditional immortality, the word 'eternal,' the activities of the intermediate state, with no favor for death as a literal sleep, or for any physical pain as purifying the soul, or for any ultimate annihilation

¹ Dr. Neubauer maintains that "all the quotations in the early Gospel's are derived from a traditional and unwritten vernacular Targum, *Studia Biblica*, Oxford, 1885.

² *Exegetical Essays*, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1884.

³ *The Spirits in Prison and other Studies on Life after Death*, New York, T. Whittaker, 1884.

or universal restoration, or for final punishment as less than endless, but extending probation or the discipline of life beyond all assignable limits. He cannot stop where Scripture stops. He has no clear warrant for his "wider hope," but takes a broad view of the hard facts and dark shadows, like Origen and Gregory, Martensen and Dorner, Maurice and Farrar.¹

In the last series of Hölemann's *Bible Studies*² or Essays, which are mainly exegetical, he treats of Sunday or the Lord's Day as our Sabbath, of Jesus and the Samaritans, of Judas Iscariot, of Pontius Pilate³ as pictured in the Gospels, of the Three crucified at Golgotha, of the ascension of Jesus, of the sword of magistracy, of Christian marriage, and of usury and rent, not to speak of many New Testament Scholia. They are excellent and complete, though seldom striking or suggestive.

Dr. T. D. Woolsey's essay on *The Disciple Whom Jesus Loved*,⁴ has special value, not only because it treats of the five passages in John's gospel, where the title occurs, showing that it points to John, and must have been given him by his fellow disciples after the resurrection, and expresses the special love of Jesus to him during their intercourse on earth; but because incidentally it discusses the difference

¹ *The Andover Review*, August, 1885, in its *Eschatology*, is bent on showing that "those who do not know of God's love in Christ while they are in the body will have knowledge of Christ after death," and maintains this theory by an able argument from Scripture, but fails to show that such post mortem knowledge will be *saving*.

² *Letzte Biblestudien*, Leipzig, 1885.

³ Cf. *Zur Charakteristik des Pilatus*, Ackermann, *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1884, and *A Day in Pilate's Life*, J. Cox, *Expositor*, 1884.

⁴ *Andover Review*, 1885.

of meaning between *φιλέω* and *αγαπάω*, John's nearness to Jesus at the Supper, whether there were four women or only three at the cross, inclining to to make four, or to identify Salome with the "mother's sister," so that John would be Mary's nephew, suggesting that if "the brethren of Christ" were Mary's own children, there being seven of them, four sons and three daughters, some of them probably still so young as to need her care, he would not have released her from maternal, or them from filial duty, by committing her even to her nephew, and particularly, because it vindicates very strongly the genuineness of the twenty-first chapter of John's gospel,¹ with the exception of the last verse.

§25. *St. Paul's use of the terms "flesh" and "spirit."*

Dr. W. P. Dickson aims at "a purely exegetical inquiry" in his Baird Lectures of 1883,² on Paul's use of these terms, a subject treated elaborately of late only in Germany. He makes large use of the recent work of Wendt, and subjoins an Appendix full of important quotations on all sides of the subject. Beginning with "flesh," he asks whether it means human nature as a whole apart from Christ (Clement, Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Delitzsch, Reuss); man's sensuous, or animal nature (Chrysostom, Usteri); man's state as weak, with or without the idea of sinfulness (Ritschl); or the substance of man's earthly body regarded as evil (Baur), show-

¹ Cf. *Epilogue to the Fourth Gospel*, by Dr. Salmond, *Monthly Interpreter*, 1885.

² Glasgow, J. Maclehose & Sons, 1883.

ing that Paul built not on Hellenistic philosophy, but on Old Testament and LXX. usage; concluding that "flesh" stands for "the creaturely nature of man, or creaturely side of his nature, in contrast to the new life which he receives," and that Paul's design was not to set forth the origin of sin from the flesh, but the power of sin in the flesh." We cannot see why the supposition that Paul's doctrine contains elements or reflects influences of Greek philosophy, is "in the last degree improbable." What if he did pour contempt on the world's wisdom, and warn against misleading speculations? Shall we stake his teachings, or John's, on his being free from the prevailing philosophy? How could he help combining Hebraic and Hellenic elements in his words?¹ May not his language be moulded, or warped, or colored, by metaphysical theories which he does not teach?

Dickson's two chapters on the divine and human *πνεῦμα* are most important. Here he shows that, while Paul generally uses "spirit" of a power conferred, not self-evolved, enabling men to live for God, he also uses it of an "inward self-conscious power, which feels, thinks, and wills," belonging to man as such, and not, as Weiss says, to the regenerate only. Here he opposes the trichotomy of Heard, Beck, and Delitzsch, and agrees especially with Wendt. that *πνεῦμα* stands for the conception of spirit, *ψυχή* for the earthly, creaturely spirit, while yet he differs from Wendt in contending that Paul

¹ T. C. Edwards says on 1 Corinthians: "There cannot be much doubt that the ruling ideas of the Greek School had reached him. Hellenism was in the air."

keeps by the lines of Jewish usage. His conclusion is: "When St. Paul has occasion to speak of the inner side of man's nature as the correlate of body, as the sphere of the religious life, or as the recipient of grace, he prefers to designate it by a name that indicated something of its religious value, that told how it had come forth from God, and thereby suggested it as the sphere of a divine renewal, the vehicle of a higher life, the abiding temple of the Holy Spirit."

Incidentally he discusses *Καρδία* and *νοῦς*, but for Paul's use of the latter, the faculty of ethical judgments, he finds no Old Testament precedent. This leads to Romans vii., 14-25, which he takes, with the great body of modern expositors, to describe an unregenerate experience, relying chiefly on the striking antithesis between *νοῦς* in Chapter vii and *πνεῦμα* in Chapter viii., but taking *πνεῦμα* in Chapter viii., 1-16, as meaning the divine spirit *without deviation*, instead of the new power given in Christ, dissenting from the English, and going beyond the American revisers, because they did not give it such a uniform rendering. But how can we read (vs. 4) "walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit," or (vs. 10) "the body is dead because of sin, but the Spirit is life," without blurring the contrast with flesh or body?

§ 26. *The latest Commentaries.*

Meyer died in 1873, but no other exegetical commentaries equal his as newly edited; Mark and

Luke, by Dr. Weiss¹; or Matthew, by Dr. Crooks; John, by Dr. Kendrick; Corinthians, by Dr. Chambers; and, especially, Romans,² with eighty pages of original notes, by Dr. Dwight.

Still, we may mention as eminently worthy of study, Lindsay's *Handbuch on Acts i-xii.*,³ Hervey on *Acts*,⁴ Riddle on *Romans*,⁵ Beet on *Galatians*,⁶ Lowrie on *Hebrews*,⁷ which is based on Von Hofmann's, and is the fruit of eight years' study by an American Presbyterian pastor, yet is often unsatisfactory, Tait on *The Message to the Seven Churches of Asia*,⁸ and Edwards on *I Corinthians*.⁹ The last, coming from a new author, is singularly fair, profound, and suggestive, showing how Paul's central idea and "the pivot of his entire theology" was his conception of "a mystical union between Christ and the believer," and how he combines "modern questions with ancient methods."¹⁰

¹ Göttingen, 1885. ² Funk & Wagnalls, N. Y., 1884.

³ Edinburgh, 1884.

⁴ *Pulpit Commentary*, New York, Randolph, 1884.

⁵ *International Commentary*, New York, Scribner's, 1884.

⁶ New York, Whittaker, 1885.

⁷ New York, Carter, 1884.

⁸ London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1884.

⁹ New York, Armstrong, 1885.

¹⁰ Perhaps we should name Schantz on *The Gospel of John*, i-vi., vi (Tübingen), Zahn on *John* (Halle), Plummer on John's Epistles (London), Beck (Gutersloh), Seiss (Basel), Smith and Boise (Philadelphia) on the *Apocalypse*, Eadie on *Philippians* (London), Govett on *Hebrews* (London)—all 1884. *The Cambridge Bible*, based on Scrivener's Cambridge text, and edited by J. J. S. Perowne, now covers the whole New Testament.

CHAPTER IV.

NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY.

§ 27. *The Life of Christ.*

Some Recent Apocryphal Gospels, Professor Warfield thinks,¹ are worse than those which came from the early Ebionites or Gnostics; for instance, *Rabbi Jeshua—An Eastern Story*²—which sifts Mark's gospel from its miraculous element, and pictures Jesus as a devout Essene. With this he associates *Philochristus, Memoirs of a Disciple of Our Lord*³, and *Onesimus, a Disciple of Paul*⁴, both by Dr. E. A. Abbott, to whom Jesus is a pitiful human Rabbi; also J. W. T. Hart's *Autobiography of Judas Iscariot*,⁵ which takes a Judas-like view of the life of Jesus, and *The Legend of Thomas Didymus, the Jewish Sceptic*, by Dr. J. F. Clark, which recognizes the gospel of John, and owns even the resurrection of Jesus, but lowers his divineline so that one can hardly see his superhuman power.

The third and last volume of *Weiss' Life of Christ*⁶, now translated, does not raise but lowers our estimate of its value. It is dull and diffuse where it ought to be most sharply critical and brightly suggestive, as in the seventh book, on "The Time of Suffering." It does not remove but creates difficulties; for instance, when it takes the Transfiguration

¹ *Southern Presbyterian Review*, 1884.

² New York, 1881.

³ Boston, 1878.

⁴ Boston, 1882.

⁵ London, 1884.

⁶ Edinburgh, T. T. Clarke, 1884.

as a vision, or Lazarus as called back to life when "the separation of soul from body had not yet taken place," or the darkness at the crucifixion as "little more than a cloudy afternoon." It accepts miracles, but explains them by natural conditions, as if shy of the supernatural. It finds in Jesus even "a bodily healing power," but "no divine omniscience of what was before him." It makes the older Evangelists mistaken as to the day of the last supper, which John puts expressly "before the passover." It holds that our Lord did not himself partake of "the cup," and could not, without destroying the symbolism of the Lord's supper. F. Haupt,¹ in a searching review, objects to its way of piecing together the words and deeds of Jesus, to its view of the origin and contents of his Messianic consciousness, and especially to its explanations of the miracles of healing.

§ 28.

Professor Steinmeyer on *Miracles in Relation to Modern Criticism*,² contributes little to history or exegesis, but defends them against Strauss and Schleiermacher. His leading positions are that if God's omnipotence is assumed, the probability that Jesus performed miracles follows from the motives he had to do it; that the miracles wrought *by* Jesus himself are to be distinguished from those wrought *on* him by the Father, as in his birth and resurrection; that a miracle cannot be explained by an acceleration of the work of nature, or by a natural power

¹ *Studien und Kritiken*, 1884.

² Edinburgh, T. & J. Clark, 1875, cf. R. Leroy on *The Miracles of Jesus Christ, Their Possibility, Their Reality*. Lausanne, 1884.

of a higher kind, or by a dominating will, or by a prevailing faith, but only as having an end or motive; that the chief miracle is the origin of the kingdom of God, and that all others stand related to this; that Jesus had in himself the power, but had to exert the will, and so had to act with a purpose or motive, when he wrought a miracle; and that he did it either (1) as a token that the kingdom of heaven was at hand, or (2) as a symbol of its treasures, or (3) as a sign of its present power, or (4) as a prophecy of its coming triumph. It confines itself, however, to the miracles recorded in the fourth Gospel, and treads on uncertain ground as to symbols and prophecies—indeed, as to the special *motives* of Jesus.

§ 29. *Dr. Edersheim on "Prophecy and History in relation to the Messiah."*¹

The Warburton Lectures for 1880–84, though designed to vindicate the Old Testament against such critics as Kuenen and Wellhausen, run on many New Testament lines, showing that "all prophecy points to the kingdom of God and to the Messiah as its King;" that Christ, his Apostles and contemporaries, were not mistaken in their Messianic expectations, but rightly understood the Old Testament as embodying the hope of a worldwide Messianic Kingdom;² that in the primitive faith of the Church Jesus of Nazareth was the pre-

¹ New York, Randolph & Co., 1885.

² See G. Shodde on the *Messianic Views of Christ's Contemporaries*, *Bib. Sac.*, 1884.

dicted Messiah, as appears not only in the Gospel records but from the non-Christian or hostile testimony of the Talmud, of Josephus and of Pliny the younger; that "prophecy can only be fully understood from the standpoint of fulfilment yet *infolds* all that is to be *unfolded*, combining two elements instead of having a two-fold application—a predictive and a parænetic element, which principles apply not only to the Old Testament but to the New, or to the Second Coming of Christ, to the anti-Christ and to the visions of the Apocalypse; that the Old Testament is Messianic as a whole, not merely in special predictions, its types being predictions by deed rather than by word, which explains the freedom with which it is quoted as fulfilled in the New. Incidentally, he makes much of the passage in Josephus concerning John the Baptist, as confessedly genuine, as covering the main facts in the Gospels about the Baptist, and as implying the Baptist's announcement of the coming Messianic Kingdom;¹ also of Pliny's testimony to the power and spread of the new faith, to the resurrection as its central truth, to Christ as its object of worship and to the Eucharist as the main part of its ritual. Their value is chiefly apologetic.²

¹ Compare H. Köhler on *John the Baptist*, Halle, 1884, and D. Lemm, Bremen, 1884.

² Cf. *The Old Testament Prophecy of the consummation of God's Kingdom, traced in its historical development* (Edinburgh, 1885), by Prof. E. von Orelli, of Basel; also *The Old and New Testaments in their mutual relations* (New York, 1885), by Prof. F. Gardiner; also, *Daniel the Prophet* (New York, 1885), by Dr. E. B. Pusey.

CHAPTER V.

NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.

§ 30. *Our Lord's Teaching.*

The Theology of Christ,¹ by Dr. J. P. Thompson, now republished, was one of the earliest attempts to evolve the doctrine of Christ "by inductive study directly and exclusively from his own words." A French scholar, D. H. Meyer,² now writes on Christ's own teaching, from Matthew's Gospel.³

On *Our Lord's Parables*, besides L. Schultze⁴ and F. L. Steinmeyer,⁵ W. M. Metcalf writes on *The twin Parables*, Matthew xiii, 44-46,⁶ J. H. Burn on *The Pearl*, Matthew xiii, 46,⁶ A. Klöpper on *The Unfulfilled Piece and the Old Garment*, *The New Wine and the Old Bottles*,⁷ M. Dodd on Luke xv, 1-10,⁸ A. G. Weld on Luke xv, 8-10,⁸ C. H. Parkhurst on Luke xvi, 1-9,⁹ F. Nerling on Luke xvi, 8,⁹ Ph. Tag on Luke xviii, 7,⁷ W. Arnot on *The*

¹ New York, E. B. Treat, 1885. ² Paris, Fischbacher, 1884.

³ R. Montague writes on *The Dialectic Method of Jesus* (*Bib. Sac.*), C. G. Walker on his *Theism* (*New Englander*), H. N. Bernard on *Satan in the New Testament* (*Monthly Interpreter*), J. J. Prins on Matthew xiii, 10 (*Theo. Tijd.*), F. G. Cholmondely on Matthew xvi, 18 (*Expositor*), Matthew xvii, 20 (*Expositor*), R. E. Wallis on Luke ii, 42 (*Expositor*), M. Dodd on Luke xvi, 19, 31 (*Expositor*), G. Matheson on Mark iv, 10-12, and John xvi, 1 (*Monthly Interpreter*), J. G. Vose on John iv (*Andover Review*), S. Cox on John xii, 20-36 (*Expositor*), G. Pingoud on John xviii, 37 (*Mitt. u. Nach R.*)

⁴ *Evang. Kirchenzeitung*, 1884.

⁵ Berlin, 1884.

⁶ *Expositor*, 1884.

⁷ *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1885.

⁸ *Expositor*, 1885.

⁹ *Andover Review*, 1884.

⁹ *Mitt. u. Nach.*, 1884.

Lesser Parables of Our Lord,¹ and D. Fraser on *The Metaphors in the Gospels*.²

Dr. Candlish's Cunningham Lectures³ are chiefly historical, but Lecture III is on *The Kingdom of God in the teaching of Christ and of His apostles*, and to it he appends some suggestive notes. "The kingdom of the heavens" in Matthew is synonymous with that "of God" in Mark and Luke. It does not mean, as with Meyer, Cremer and Weiss, a kingdom whose place is in heaven and whose blessings are to come on earth. The phrase was used originally by Jesus, not introduced by Matthew. The Greek word "kingdom," like the Hebrew and Latin, has a wider significance than the English, denoting not only the *realm* of a king but *his reign*, especially when said to be "at hand." In Jesus' own teaching it signified a present, not a mere future reality. As to his coming again, he spoke in two different ways, sometimes of the spiritual manifestation of his power as the founder of the kingdom, chiefly so in John's Gospel and in Matthew, and sometimes of his visible appearance in person to judge the world, chiefly so in the Synoptics, though also in John's phrase "at the last day." Matt. xxiv:29 has an apparent juxtaposition of events widely distant, which suggests that Matthew failed to distinguish between the words of Jesus about his coming by his Spirit and his coming in glory. So, perhaps, in Matt. x:23 and xiv:28. Jesus was limited in knowledge as to the time of his future coming, but did not say what proved wrong.

¹ London, T. Nelson, 1884.

² New York, R. Carter, 1885.

³ Edinburgh, T. & T. Clarke. 1884.

This appeal, however, from the word as written to the word as spoken, is offered only as "the least violent solution." Our Lord's teaching about the kingdom, while in the line of the Old Testament prophets, went beyond them and contradicted that of his day on three points, viz.: (1) its blessings are not external but spiritual; (2) the way of entering it is not by works of the law, but by faith in himself; (3) the power that rules in it is not force but life. The kingdom has no such leading place in the Epistles as in the Gospels, but Paul sees it clearly as implied in the Lord's resurrection, and gives it great prominence. In its doctrinal idea it is defined as "the gathering together of men under God's eternal law of righteous love, by the vital power of his redeeming love, brought to bear upon them by the Holy Spirit." Probably this central topic was never treated more thoroughly.¹

§ 31. *Peter's Teaching.*

Dr. S. Fuller, in his *study* of I Pet. iii:18, and iv:6² infers from the two contrasting Greek particles, μέν and δέ that "flesh" and "spirit" cannot refer to different parts of the same person, nor does he think that νεκροίς are literally dead. Hölemann³ breaks the connection of these passages, and holds Christ's preaching after death to be vindicatory rather than

¹Cf. A. B. Bruce on the *Kingdom of God*, *Monthly Interpreter*, 1884-5.

²*The City of God* (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1883), by Dr. A. M. Fairbairn, is more philosophical, but not so closely exegetical.

³New York, T. Whittaker, 1885.

⁴*Bible Studies*, Leipzig, 1885.

evangelical. O. Street, on II Pet. i:20¹ shows that "no prophecy is of private unloosing" as to its divine authority. G. Matheson writes on I Pet. ii:5² and S. Cox on II Pet. ii:7, 8.³

§ 32. *Paul's Teaching.*

We have had ample help for the study of Paul's life and letters. J. Stalker's *Life of Paul*⁴ is worthy of mention. We gain little from W. Schmidt's article on *Paul*⁵ and less from E. Hatch's.⁶ J. F. Clarke tries to translate *Paul's ideas* into "their modern equivalents,"⁷ holding that Paul laid stress on the ideal, not the historic Christ.

Godet writes on *Thessalonians*⁸ and defends it from the charge of being Jewish in doctrine since it was written on Paul's *second tour*, when he was likely to be free from his earlier Jewish notions.

Von Soden⁹ says that I Thessalonians "deserves more richly than heretofore to be used in the study of Paulinism. In the foreground stands the hope of the Parousia. Christ glorified he saw at his conversion; not the historical Christ, nor the crucified, but the glorified, is here the central point of his faith: not in the past, nor in the present, but on the future his gaze rests, and the future assures him of the return of the Lord beheld in heaven."

J. Morison writes on Rom. i², S. Morison on Rom. ii, 12-16², A. Michelsen on *the righteousness*

¹ *Bib. Sac.*, 1885.

² *Monthly Interpreter*, 1885.

³ *Expositor*, 1884.

⁴ New York, Scribner & Welford.

⁵ *Herzog's Encyc.*

⁶ *Encyc. Brit.*

⁷ *The Ideas of the Apostle Paul.* Boston, J. R. Osgood, 1884.

⁸ *Expositor*, 1885.

⁹ *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1885.

of God in Romans¹, E. Grafe on Paul's doctrine of law,² insisting that νόμος with or without the article refers to the Mosaic law, Menegoz on Paul's ideas of sin and redemption³, E. Otto against Paul's doctrines of predestination, sin, atonement and faith as commonly understood⁴, W. Bleibtreu on Rom. i-iii,⁵ with "faith to faith" or the righteousness which is of faith as their key, Genung on Rom. x:4-11⁶, Otto on Rom. xi:25-26⁷, Lorentz⁸ and Reineke⁹ on Romans, Beck,¹⁰ too, in his University Lectures, but the Symposium on Romans has special value in its last article by J. B. Grubbe.¹¹

Godet writes on I Corinthians,⁷ Holtzmann, on The Christ-party at Corinth,¹² Warfield on I Corinthians x., 10 and xv., 7,¹³ Johnson on I Corinthians x., 21,¹³ Milligan on I Corinthians xv., 1-11¹⁴, Murfey on I Corinthians xv., 11, 32,¹⁴ but Edwards' new Commentary touches all the salient points; S. Cox discusses II Corinthians v., 5¹⁵, and A. H. Franke II Corinthians v., 9-13, and vi., 14-vii.¹⁴

Godet writes on Galatians⁷ also, as do Kähler¹⁵ Sauer¹⁶ and Philippi,¹⁷ Ballantine on Galatians iii., 16¹⁸, Mentzel on Ephesians v., 31,¹⁹ Weissenbach on the Kenosis in Philippians ii., 5-11,²⁰ Murfey on Philippians ii., 12, 13,¹⁴ Johnson on Philippians iv.,

¹Luthard's Zeitschrift, 1884. ²Freiburg, 1884.

³Paris, 1885. ⁴St. Louis, 1884. ⁵Göttingen, 1884.

⁶Jour. Soc. Bib. Lit. and Ex., 1884. ⁷Expositor, 1885.

⁸Breslau, 1884. ⁹Leipzig, 1884. ¹⁰Gütersloh, 1884.

¹¹Homiletic Review, 1885. ¹²Zeitschrift für wiss. Th., 1885.

¹³Expositor, 1884. ¹⁴Stud. u. Krit., 1884.

¹⁵Monthly Interpreter, 1885.

¹⁶Halle, 1884. ¹⁷Gotha, 1884.

¹⁸Bib. Sac., 1885. ¹⁹Leipzig, 1884. ²⁰Karlsruhe, 1884.

12,¹ Holtzmann on Paul's doctrine of pre-existence, and Hilgenfeld on the Christ in Philippians,² Hoffman on Romans xii.-xvi. and Colossians,³ Rönsch on I Timothy v., 10² and Hebrews xii., 2, but Maclaren most edifyingly in a series of articles on Colossians.⁴

The Doctrinal Teaching of Paul is the title of O. Pfleiderer's⁵ second Hibbert Lecture, relating to Paul's influence "on the development of Christianity." "The strictly historical examination into primitive Christianity," he says, began with Baur, and shows "how profound was the antagonism," instead of agreement, between Paul and the first apostles. Paul depended on Christ religiously, not theologically. He was himself "the originator of Christian theology." He had never listened to the words of Jesus, but apprehended his *spirit* more profoundly than the original apostles. His theology was based on his previous Jewish beliefs, but had its source in his living experience. It makes no account of Christ "after the flesh," the historic Christ, but clings to the celestial or ideal Christ, calls him "God over all," represents him not as taking human nature, but as exchanging a celestial for an earthly form, sees in him the archetypal man, explains his death as an objective propitiation and subjective reconciliation, combining the idea of "one for all," and that of "all in and with one," or a Jewish *legal* with a Christian *filial* view. His antithesis of 'flesh' and 'spirit' originated not in Greek philosophy, but in Jewish theology. He connected it with Adam's fall in a pe-

¹ *Monthly Interpreter*.

² *Zeitschrift für wiss. Th.*, 1884.

³ *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1884.

⁴ Stuttgart, 1884.

⁵ *Expositor*, 1885.

⁶ New York, Scribner, 1885.

cular Rabbinic way. His "doctrine of the Holy Spirit" required his "mystical view of the sacraments." He had profound insight into the divine government, and sketched a new philosophy of history. "The question as to the permanent validity of the law had evidently not come within the horizon of the church prior to his missionary labors." He proved that Christianity abolished the Mosaic law. So he "came into complete antagonism with Judaism." His conflicts with Jewish Christians, the reconciliation of Paulinism with Jewish Christianity, the Gnostic element in Paulinism, and the transformation of Paulinism into Catholicism, are vividly described. But it is boldly assumed that Paul originated what Jesus taught and Stephen, too, in an elementary way; that what Paul learned from the exalted Christ and taught concerning his cross was Jewish; that Paul insisted on the law as no longer binding, whereas he insisted rather that righteousness did not come by the law—a justifying righteousness; moreover, that the Apocalypse, Mark's Gospel and Hebrews were written by Paulinists, and that the pastoral Letters belong to the second century! Then, Paul's doctrines are taken as mere symbols, Adam's fall and Christ's atonement symbolic of "the selfish and self-denying love of man." All this with Paul's motto, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life!" Can we have "the spirit" without a more strict regard to "the letter?"

This suggests whether the Bible *is* or only *contains* "the Word of God"—a phrase which many say the Bible never applies to itself, but only to "special

révelations" which it records, or to "its most important and crucial utterances," or to "the substance of the gospel as preached." So Thomson, Mackennal, White and Farrar, in a series of papers on *Inspiration, or in What Sense and Within what limits is the Bible the Word of God?*¹ They argue chiefly from it as "an organic whole," or from its "sum-total and general drift," and conclude that it is "the Word of God" only in a loose and popular sense. But Paul calls the Old Testament *τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ*. Is this limited to prophetic or Messianic sayings, or to the Old Testament writings? But it is enough to say, with Dr. S. Leathes: "The Bible is the Word of God because it is the authorized record of the way in which God communicated his will to man, and because it is the appointed instrument for making known that will."

§ 33. *John's Teaching.*

Franke² writes on the *plan of John's Gospel* and Klöpper³ on its *composition*, Thompson on the *theology of John*,⁴ Westcott on the *titles of the Lord in John's Gospel*,⁵ Reynolds on the *omission from the Fourth Gospel of the temptation of Christ*,⁶ Hutchison on *our Lord's groaning in spirit* or John xi., 33.⁶

R. Steck, of Bern, on *The duration of the public activity of Jesus* and on *The pericope concerning*

¹ *A Clerical Symposium*, New York, J. Whittaker, 1885.

² *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1884.

³ Tübingen, 1884.

⁴ *Journ. of Ch. Philos.*, 1884.

⁵ London, Macmillan, 1884.

⁶ *Monthly Interpreter*, 1884.

the adulteress,¹ showing the free, bold way with which the Fourth Evangelist handles his historical matter, but charging him with being double-faced, or with having one eye for the Church doctrine and the other for Gnostic speculation, which is the same as to say that he is not John the Apostle.

A. H. Franke, of Halle,² writes also on John's position with reference to *the Old Covenant*, or the people, the revelation and the Scriptures of the Old Covenant; his views of God, the world, eschatology, the Messianic belief and the salvation in Christ, then the Old Testament words in John's writings. He treats leading German theories but is no rationalist, cites much from Philo but not as if Philo were of the same school with John, nor does he explain away John's belief in a personal devil. His book bears on the age and origin of John's Gospel but more on its evangelical teachings. Laird writes on I John ii., 22, 23,³ and Krüger on I John ii., 6, 9.⁴

The Lamb of God,⁵ by W. R. Nicoll, takes the figure of the Lamb as prominent in John's Gospel, and especially in the Apocalypse, where it is used twenty-seven times, and treats it as "one of the great dogmatic points," finding in it not only Christ's innocence and gentleness but the paschal or sin-bearing sacrifice, showing its large unfoldings in the Lamb as enthroned, as opening the sealed book, as making war, as leading, feeding and enlightening his people, and as overwhelming his enemies with

¹ Bern, 1884.

² *Das Alte Testament bei Johannes*, Göttingen, 1885.

³ *Luth. Ch. Review*, 1884. ⁴ *Kirch. Monatsschrift*, 1884.

⁵ New York, Macmillan, 1883.

his wrath. It should have been based more thoroughly either on Isaiah's great prophecy, as by Keil, or on the paschal lamb, as by Milligan and Moulton.

We close most fittingly with *Eight Studies of the Lord's Day*,¹ for Study II. treats admirably of its origination, its sacred and festival character, with the significance of the phrase as applied to the *first* day of the week and as occurring only once in Scripture (Rev. i., ii.). These *studies* are far more satisfactory than Dr. J. A. Hessey's Bampton Lectures on *Sunday* (1860), or other recent books, as Rev. W. F. Craft's² and Dr. W. W. Everts'³ on *The Sabbath*. In the same line Hölemann argues on both Scriptural and patristic grounds, and A. Klöpper⁴ on Jesus' "defence of his disciples when they were blamed for breaking the Sabbath." But we need clearer views of what "The Teaching" calls "The Lord's Day."

¹ Cambridge, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1885.

² New York, Funk & Wagnalls, 1884.

³ New York, E. B. Treat, 1885.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für wiss. Th.* 1885.

HISTORIC THEOLOGY.

THE MOST RECENT STUDIES IN
CHURCH HISTORY,
WITH SOME OF THE MORE IMPORTANT RESULTS,
BY
REV. HUGH M. SCOTT,
PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN CHICAGO
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

HISTORIC THEOLOGY.

§ 1. INTRODUCTORY.

In the first volume of these *Discussions* (1883), the field of historic research was briefly outlined; in the second (1884), the leading schools of theological and historical criticism were touched upon, so that now we are in a position to undertake the more direct work of reporting the progress in this department of study. Our survey will not extend far beyond the year 1884, and must, from its very nature, be somewhat fragmentary, for the limits of this volume and the portions of Church History which yield new results prevent any full and just proportion of parts.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHURCH OF THE FATHERS.

§ 2. *Literature of the Sources.*

Our knowledge of Ante-Nicene writings has been somewhat increased lately by the labors of Cardinal Pitra.¹ Amid much that is interesting, but not genuine, he gives some material of value as well as interest. Volume IV. presents a fragment of Melito's lost work, *περί λουτρῶν*, containing analogies of baptism, and closing with the words: "If the sun bathes in the ocean, why not also Christ in the Jordan?" More important is the *Liber formularum spiritualis intelligentiæ* of Eucherius, from a MS. of the VI. century. We have six new Syriac fragments of Irenæus, and one in Greek. Convinced by Zahn, Pitra publishes the Harmony of the Gospels ascribed to Theophilus. We get, also, from Slavonic MSS. new material from Methodius of Patara, viz., a work *De cibis ad Chilonam*, also, *De libero arbitrio adv. Valentinianos*, *De lepra ad Istellium*, and other fragments. We have six hundred pages genuine, spurious, and doubtful from Origen, six unknown sermons ascribed to Gregory Thaumaturgus;² three Greek fragments of the *Disputatio Malchionis contra Paulum Samos.*, and much else

¹ *Analecta Sacra*, edidit J. B. Card. Pitra, Tom. II., III., IV., Patres Antenicæni, Parisiis, 1883-4.

² For these names cf. Smith & Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, London, 1877-82, containing, so far, A—M, and extending to A. D. 800, a work unequalled of its kind.

known and unknown, for critical sifting. The third part of Zahn's investigations on the New Testament Canon¹ treats of the Gospel Harmony of Theophilus of Antioch, which he considers a genuine work, although it bears the words, *Patriarchae et Archiepiscopi Alexandrini*. But Harnack² was lucky enough to find a MS. in Brussels containing the Harmony and a prologue, which Zahn admits is as early as A. D. 500, in which the anonymous author confesses that he collected the work from older sources.

Zahn says³ the prologue is spurious, but admits interpolations by Eucherius of Lyons, and others. Harnack's view, however, seems the most probable. The latest work of Zahn, on Clement of Alexandria, adds somewhat to our knowledge. Ten fragments of our present text are discovered to be spurious. Two others are traced to Philo, three to Clement of Rome, two to Plutarch, and one each to Didymus and Isocrates. The *Liber Anatoli de ratione paschali*, hitherto accepted as the pseudepigraphic work of some Briton of the seventh century, was very likely written by an Alexandrian of the third, and the Hieronymus referred to in it was his fellow citizen. To the latter Zahn assigns some Greek fragments found in the Coislin MSS. (10 and 87). He speaks of the eyes of the Lord (Psalm 33, 16) and his hands (Psalm 119, 73) as the Son and Holy Spirit, an explanation reminding of Irenæus (V. 6, 1, IV. 20, 1).

¹ *Forschungen zur Geschichte des N. T. Kanons*, Thl. II., Erlangen, 1883.

² *Texte und Untersuchungen*, I, 4 (1883) p. 97 ff.

³ *Forschungen*, Thl. III *Supplementum Clementinum*, p. 202.

Bryennios, Archbishop of Nicomedia, has given the most important recent addition to our literature in the Teaching of the XII Apostles.¹ It is accepted by critics as a genuine work of the first quarter of the second century, and offers valuable confirmation—as we shall see in the proper place—of the views of early life and discipline in the Church lately reached by scholars.

The genuineness of the Second Epistle of Clement is now given up, and since the discovery of the full Greek text it is interesting simply as the earliest homily transmitted to us. But we are further told² that the First Epistle also is spurious; it is but one of a group, including the Epistle to Diognetus, and the Bibliotheca of Photius—all of which were manufactured by Renaissance scholars in the time of Henry Stephens. Still more, Clement's Epistles to Virgins are a product of the Middle Ages.³ These theories still await full historic proof.

The genuineness of the account of Polycarp's death, given by the Church at Smyrna, has been discussed afresh. Does Lucian's *De Morte Peregrini*, written A. D. 165, refer to it? If so it is genuine. Bernays thinks⁴ Lucian attacked in his Peregrinus chiefly the Cynics. Egli agrees with him,⁵ as does Prof. Hug, of Zuerich. If Christians

¹ Constantinople, 1883, with critical and historic prolegomena and notes. The most complete discussion of this treatise is given by A. Harnack, *Lehre der XII Apostel*, Leipzig, 1884, and by Hitchcock and Brown, *Teaching of the XII Apostles*, new, enlarged edition, New York, 1885; Cf. also *Journal of Christian Philosophy*, 1884, No. 3.

² J. M. Cotterill, *Peregrinus Proteus*, Edinburgh, 1879.

³ Ibid., *Modern Criticism and Clement's Epistles to Virgins*, Edinburgh, 1884.

⁴ *Lucian und die Kyniker*, Berlin, 1879.

⁵ *Zeitschrift fuer wissent. Theologie*, 1883, p. 169 f.

are attacked it is only indirectly. There were many points of similarity between the deistic Cynics and the Christians; both fought polytheism, and with the same weapons, hence Lucian might very well attack both together. He may, therefore, have read such Christian writings as the *Passion of Polycarp*. Schuerer and his followers are supposed to have proven that Pseudo-Justin's *Cohortatio ad Graecos* is of the third century, because it used the work of Julius Africanus. But Voelter now claims¹ that both Julius and the writer of the *Cohortatio* drew from a common source, viz., Justus of Tiberias. He puts the latter in the second century and thinks he may have been Apollinarius, of Hierapolis. He is followed by Draeseke,² who ascribes the work, however, to Apollinarios, of Laodicea, in the fourth century. One thing seems certain; the investigation begun by Harnack,³ and still going on, shows the writing to be no work of Justin. Another treatise about proven⁴ by Draeseke for his Apollinarios is the genuine portion of the pseudo-Justin publication, *Ἐκθεσις πίστεως ἥτοι περὶ τριάδος*. The original work, as written by Apollinarios, was known as the *περὶ τριάδος*. It was interpolated later by an unskilful hand. Ascribed to Justin between the fourth and sixth centuries, it was spread in the Church by secret Apollinarists. The insertions in the book show that an ancient unitarian sought to float his

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 185 ff.

² *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, vii, H. 2 (1885).

³ *Die Ueberlieferung der Griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, etc., 1882, p. 156 f.

⁴ *Zft. f. Kirchengeschichte*, vi, H. 1, H. 4 (1884).

teachings under the name of Justin; but his orthodox coloring, borrowed from Basil, etc., is put on roughly and betrays him. Draeseke claims, also, for his author some fragments usually bearing the name of Justin,¹ as well as the three Homilies on the *Annunciation of the Virgin*, and the *Suffering Christ*, hitherto ascribed to Gregory Thaumaturgus.² He discovers, further,³ the *Adversus Graecos* of pseudo-Justin to be the apology of Apollonius delivered before the Senate under Commodus. The *Testimonia* of Cyprian, a collection of Old Testament passages, grouped about an outline of the life of Christ, has been proven recently by Roensch and Dombart to have formed the pocket Bible of African writers in the third and fourth century; while Harnack makes it likely⁴ that this was based on an earlier Greek work. The Latin version was widely read, and formed a sort of Old Testament Christology for the Western Church.

Another literary product of the middle of the second century was the lost Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus, a Jew and a Christian, composed, according to Maximus Confessor, by Ariosto of Pella. This Harnack has lately discovered worked⁵ over in a Latin dialogue of the fifth century, by some Evagrius. At the close of this century this little work had a wide circulation, showing the deep interest felt in the relation of Jews and Christians.

¹ *Jahrbuecher fuer Protestantische Theologie*, 1884, H. 2.

² *Ibid.*, H. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, 1885, H. 1.

⁴ *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 108 f.

⁵ *Die Allercatio Simonis Judaei et Theophili Christiani*, nebst Untersuchungen ueber die antijuedische Polemik in der alten Kirche, 1883, in *T. u. Untersuch.*

This was no longer an interest of fear, for since the time of Domitian the contact of the Gentile churches with the Palestinian Ebionites was very insignificant. In opposition to the Gnostics the orthodox Christians received the Old Testament, and had some sympathy with the Jew; and, further, as Harnack points out, Church Apologetics of the second century arose from a union of a theistic cosmology and ethics with the proof from prophecy. Tertullian, in his essay, *Adversus Judaeos*, seems to have used the Greek original of our *Altercatio*.

A further valuable addition to our source material has been recently given by Caspari.¹ Besides critical texts of known writings, he presents the following, hitherto unpublished:

(1) Rufinus, Latin version of the five dialogues against the Gnostics, falsely attributed to Origen.

(2) *Altercatio Heracliani laici cum Germinio episcopo Sirmiensi* (A. D. 366).

(3) Two addresses to the baptized, some of whom had fallen into heathen practices (Early Middle Ages).

(4) A homily by Cæsarius of Arles.

(5) A treatise on the origin of the soul, falsely ascribed to Ambrose.

The translation of (1) was made in the fourth century, by a scholarly man, and corrects, in numerous places, our Greek text. We now know that the work is earlier than the time of Constantine. Harnack calls it "a source of first rank for the history of the Marcionite churches." Number (2) is of

¹ *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota*, Christiana, 1883.

the time of Valens, and contains a real account of a public discussion in Sirmium, between an orthodox layman and an Arian bishop. It gives a graphic picture, in vernacular Pannonian Latin, of Christian life when the orthodox few fought the Unitarian majority under Valens.

In this connection, we notice the rich "find" of MSS. made not long since in Egypt. These fragments, unearthed in Fayûm, a province some fifty miles south of Cairo, began to appear in 1877, when the German consul in Alexandria bought and sent to Berlin a large quantity of papyri. Among these were fragments of Homer, Basil and Sappho, a portion of the lost tragedy, Melanippe, of Euripides, and a life of Moses, by Gregory of Nyssa. Subsequent research did not add much new material, until the Archduke Rainer, of Austria (1882), brought a vast collection of MSS. from Egypt. There were over one thousand Coptic, two hundred Ethiopic, twenty-four Hebrew, some thousands of Arabic, many Greek, some Latin, Persian, Hieroglyphic, and Hieratic papyri—in all, about ten thousand, though thirty thousand fragments are spoken of. These are stored in the Imperial Museum, Vienna, and scholars are carefully deciphering their contents,¹ fifteen hundred pieces, half of which are complete source documents, being already arranged. They have aroused very great interest among all classes of historic students. Upon church life they are already beginning to shed their light,

¹ Cf. *Der Papyrusfund von El Fayûm*, in *Denkschriften der Kaiserl. Akademik d. Wissenschaften*, vol. xxxiii., 1883; also, *Wiener Studien*, 1882-5; and *The Expositor*, May, 1885.

and we look eagerly for further illumination of the many obscure places in the early Christian history of Egypt. The information already gleaned about the political and social life of the first seven centuries on the Nile is most valuable for the church historian. We know now that the system of civil economy, business, and domestic usages, which took shape under the Pharaohs, continued unchanged under the Ptolemies and Romans, until slowly merged into Mohammedan methods. We read this in an almost unbroken series of imperial documents, Roman, Byzantine, and Saracen, extending from A. D. 90 for nearly one thousand years, which are here unrolled to view. There are, it is said, contemporary documents from every year of each one of the thirty-five rulers, from Domitian to Constantine. We find edicts from such rulers as Marcus Aurelius, Alexander Severus, Gordian, and Philip the Arabian. We have papers containing tax arrangements, loans, leases, &c., of the time of Commodus (189). There are acts of town councils of the year 478. There are also Christian records. Besides portions of the Sahidic Bible, and a *Metanoia* of the early part of the fourth century—perhaps the oldest extant—there are fragments of a New Testament text of the Last Supper on papyrus and of the third century. We can read also the family journal of Aurelius Pachymios, a Christian, a banker and a dealer in purple of Alexandria, A. D. 592–616; we hear the curses of an Egyptian heathen mother upon her son, who had become a Christian,¹ and

¹ Cf. *Revue de l'Hist. des Religions*, 1883, p. 450 f.

read a bill of divorce of a monk's daughter, dated A. D. 909. From a doctrinal point of view, it is of great importance to approach Gnosticism, Monasticism and Monophysite teaching—all of which sprang up in Egypt—through sympathetic Coptic literature. We are now beginning to look at the Synod of Chalcedon and the Melkites in a more impartial light, and some chapters of our history must be re-written.¹

§ 3. *General Relation of Church and Empire.*

• The second century—the obscure century of the early church—is now recognized as a great turning-point, and made the subject of minute study. Renan, who in his *Origines* gives the most complete history of the first two centuries, says it “has had the double glory of definitely founding Christianity—*i. e.*, the great principle which has wrought the reformation of morals through faith in the supernatural—and of seeing developed, thanks to Stoic preaching and without any effort of the marvelous, the finest efforts of a lay school of virtue which the world has yet seen.” “The child now leaves his mother,” for a new era has dawned; the old civilization ends with the death of Marcus Aurelius. In the next century the germ of the new era was planted.² This transition is clearly reflected in the form of early Christian literature. The primitive type is seen in the writ-

¹ *Récits de Dioscore exilé à Gangres sur le Concile de Chalcedone*, from the Coptic by Revillout, *Revue Egyptologique*, 1880, and *Notes et Extraits* by Zotenberg, 1883.

² Cf. Harnack's review of *M. Aurele et la fin du monde antique*, 4 edition (1882), in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1885, No. 8.

ings of the apostolic school, which run parallel to such a manifestation as Montanism, and close with it about A. D. 180, lasting not much over one hundred years. The second type was an attempt to give Christianity a literature after the forms of the world, and became a mighty instrument of progress. It arose c. 130, in Apologies, and offered a Christian literature to the world, though it did not find a home in the church till Clement of Alexandria. The formation of the New Testament Canon included works of the first class, but also helped the introduction of those of the second.¹

Early Christianity grew into the consciousness of the truth which it contained through the national thought of Judea, Greece and Rome. After Baur, so much stress was laid upon the Gentile element that the Jewish seemed little more than its shadow thrown backward. Jewish teaching was but the negative occasion of calling true Christian doctrine to the light. We are now better instructed; and while the deep significance of the second founding of Christianity in the Greek world—in conflict with the Ebionites, Gnostics and Montanists—is made prominent, the honor of its first establishment is not withheld from the Jewish laborers.² It is further pointed out, and rightly, that Hellenic Judaism formed an important stepping-stone in this great

¹ Cf. Overbeck, *Ueber die Anfaenge der patr. Literatur*, in *Hist. Zft.*, N. F., pp. 417-472 (1882).

² Bestmann—(*Geschichte d. christlichen Sitte* II Theil, d. kath. Sitte, Noerdlingen, 1883)—goes to the extreme of holding that the Jewish Christians were Ebionites, who, through the *Clementines*, gave rise to Catholicism, and that legal system which prevailed till the Reformation.

transition. Here Greek philosophy and free criticism met the Old Testament and faith; here broad humanity and catholicity of sympathy led up to the gospel for all men; and here, by a kind of new birth, the Church prepared herself for conquering the empire and the world. Recently, however, this important fact has been pushed to rash extremes. Havet, a rationalistic historian, describes² the first century as the Jewish period in church history, its chief figure Paul, its literature the New Testament, its thought essentially Jewish. The true history, beginning in the next century, was rooted in the Greek synagogues, which were more influenced by heathen than Jewish thought. This history, little affected by the real life and preaching of Christ, began the life of the Catholic Church. The story of the spread of the gospel in the first century, and in the older apprehension of it, was repeated in the third, in times of peace, when the broader thought of the Greek synagogues taught the Catholic view of Christianity, which swept through proselytes, friendly heathen, philosophers and Gentiles of all classes. These exaggerated views lay stress upon a neglected point in early church history, for Greek Christianity had its roots largely in the synagogues of the Dispersion.

But it would be wrong to think that Pauline doctrine was not widespread in the second century, or that the *Διδαχὴ* is a typical presentation of the teaching of the Gentile church before the Catholic Church arose.

² *Le Christianisme et ses origines*, Tomes I-IV, Paris, 1873-84.

The external relations of this development have been set in the clearest light by Ranke. His most recent work¹ describes the ante-Nicene period as filled by "the progress of the world conquest and opposition to the same, the development of autocracy amid contending elements and internal difficulties, finally the contrast between particular religions which ruled the empire and the idea of the universal religion which arose." Greek culture and Roman prowess, rule, and legal learning were shot through and united by the Semitic spirit of Christianity, which had been transformed by contact with many peoples and become Catholic. Christianity and the Church arose in conscious contrast to Judaism and the Empire. The fall of the Emperor Maurice (602) was "the beginning of a new epoch of the history of the world," in which the independence of Italy and the Papacy forms an initial monument. Church life and learning largely molded national destiny, for Latin theology was "at once philosophy and church rule," "a union of deep thinking and force before which all opposition fell."

§ 4. *The Persecutions.*

The old notion of exactly ten persecutions, as of seven crusades, is now given up. Doulcet distinguishes² four stages—adding one to Baur's division—in the relation of early Christianity to the Empire:

¹ *Weltgeschichte*, III Teil, *Das altrömische Kaisertum*, IV Teil, *Das Kaisertum in Constantinople u. der Ursprung romanisch-germanischer Kaenigreiche*, Leipzig, 1883.

² *Essai sur les rapports de l'église chrétienne avec l'Etat Romain pendant les trois premiers siècles*, Paris, 1883.

(1) Ending 96, during which it was officially ignored.

(2) To 180, the time of legal repression, but not yet scornful, systematic persecution.

(3) To 235, a period of transition when toleration reached its maximum.

(4) To the edict of Milan (313) and full toleration.

The third period is of deepest interest—tyrants and debauchees introducing liberty of conscience, Commodus was indifferent to all religion; he favored Eastern cults because lust was in them; he feared Christian zeal; men were weary of persecution—hence he listened to Marcia and spared the Christians. Yet the recently discovered Greek text of the Acts of the Martyrs of Scilla shows martyrdom under Commodus. Six or twelve suffered (180) in Carthage, charged with magic, and the Punic martyrs of Madaurus—three men and a woman—are now seen to have died in this reign.¹

From an inscription found in Rome, De Rossi gives what was known there about Hippolytus, A.D. 350. After living in Rome as a Novatian presbyter, he was banished with Pontionus to Sardinia, but counseled his followers to hold to the Catholic faith, and was at last buried on the same day with his opponent Pontianus in Rome; for by giving up his schism he deserved to be "our confessor and martyr."

¹ Goerres, *Das Christenthum und der römische Staat zur Zeit des Kaiser Commodus*, *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.* 1884, H 2.

² *Bulletino di archeologia cristiana*, 1883, p. 60 f.

§ 5. *Spread of Christianity.*

The influence of the East on the conversion of the West appears from recent research to have been greater than is commonly supposed. We learn¹ that under Marcus Aurelius, Marseilles was still fully Greek in character—an important fact for the mission work of Irenaeus, etc. But especially the direct and indirect activity of Egypt in advancing Christianity has attracted attention of late. We now know that monotheism was taught on the Nile before the time of Christ, and a mystic absorption in God preached. This helps explain the Therapeutae, and leads up to Philo with his philosophic contempt of pleasure. It is this tendency which reached and affected Christianity in the second century.² It preached of Osiris, who died and rose again. It spread to Rome, and may have prepared the way for the preaching of the cross; but then its work was done, for it could not appease the hunger which it excited. Of the activity of Christian Egypt we have also just received some interesting proofs in “in a systematic beginning upon a great subject—the Christian antiquities of Egypt³.” In connection with a full description of Coptic ecclesiastical art, we get some light upon the missionary work of the Church. It is made well-nigh certain that Coptic and Irish monks were in active intercourse between the seventh and tenth centuries. Warren tells us⁴ of seven Egyptian monks buried at Disert

¹ O. Hirschfeld, *Gallische Studien*, Wien, 1883.

² Cf. Lafay's *Hist. du culte des divinités d' Alexandrie, Serapis Isis, Harpocrates et Anubis*, etc., Paris, 1884.

³ *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt* by A. J. Butler, Oxford, 1884.

⁴ *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, Oxford, 1881.

Ulidh, in Ireland; and now Butler says the Irish ring-walls (cashels) about their churches, the "wagon-vault" style of roofs, silver plates for the Gospels (VI Cent.), etc., are found, outside of Ireland, only in Egypt. It is not at all unlikely, then, that Mohammedan persecution (VII Cent.) and Iconoclast emperors (VIII Cent.) may have driven Coptic monk-artists westward, as missionary zeal impelled Irish monks eastward. This view receives support from a recent study of Byzantine art. Bayet traces¹ a distinctively Christian school of art in Constantinople whose origin, he holds, was in Syria. Iconoclasm scattered its artists, and not a few of them went West.

§ 6. *History of Doctrine.*

The most recent Protestant histories of doctrine differ from the older works (*e. g.*, *Hagenbach*) in about the same way that dogmatic theology differs from Biblical theology. Thus Nitzsch arranges² the material so as to give an insight into the vital origin of doctrines. He presents opinions in the framework of their historic appearance, and not in the mold of Protestant dogmatics. Accordingly, he makes patristic theology revolve about (1) Christ, and (2) the Church, as it really did in fact. The same chronological setting is observed by Thomasius,³ who in his arrangement "will make nothing, but only see how the movement goes on."

¹ *L'art Byzantin*, Paris, 1884, cf. *Contemp. Review*, December 1884.

² *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, I (Patristic period), 1870.

³ *Die christliche Dogmengeschichte*, 2 Bde. Erlangen, 1874-76.

The first doctrinal discussions of importance for the historian are those with the Jews in reference to tradition (Nazarenes, etc.), and with the Greeks on questions of philosophy (Gnostics). If we could trace to their origin the forces at work in these conflicts, we could explain how the primitive church became the Catholic Church. A painful gap in our materials arises from the loss of nearly all the so-called heretical writings of the ante-Nicene period; so that we hear but one side of the story. To remedy this as far as possible, Hilgenfeld has collected the fragments of such writings, setting out from what he finds in portions of Justin's *Syntagma Against All Heresies*, incorporated by Irenaeus, then discussing the heresies involved in the work of Irenaeus, and finally treating those which Hippolytus had in view.¹

Tracing the Jewish source of error, he finds that the Essenes arose neither from Greek philosophy nor from perverted Pharisaism, but from a collateral, cognate branch of Israel with its own religious views, as had the Samaritans. The Essenes became Ebionites, but primitive Christianity was not Ebionism², for early apostolic Christianity and Pauline Christianity had a common ground, though their differences led into a conflict which did not reach the harmony of the Church Catholic till the influence of Gnosticism was felt. The Catholicism which arose in the church to put out Gnosticism expelled at the same time anti-Pauline Jewish Christianity,

¹ *Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums*, Leipzig, 1884.

² Cf. Reichardt, *The relation of the Jew. Christians to the Jews in the first and second century*, London, 1884.

as heresy. This struggle left the Church unsettled, and a second controversy arose—that with the Montanists—out of which the rising Episcopacy emerged triumphant over primitive prophecy. This anti-Jewish tendency went so far as to partially suppress original Christianity, as in the observance of Easter, and the overthrow of early monarchianism. In the most recent treatment of Montanism¹ the progressive element in that movement has been more emphasized than formerly. It first laid stress on the continued growth of the Church in moral living, with a consequent, though not intentional, change in views of doctrine.

The relation of the western part of the Catholic Church to the eastern in the fourth century is a subject still much in need of illumination. Greek theology—especially of the Alexandrian school—is often praised² as an almost ideal treatment of Theism and Christology, while Latin theology is frequently spoken of as legal, with gloomy views of Anthropology, and terrible narrowness in its Atonement. But a thorough study of the question shows that if western churchmen did not adopt the more philosophic and eudemonistic teachings of their eastern brethren it was neither because they were unacquainted with them, nor because incapable of appreciating their worth³. Reuter has dealt with the theological relation of East and West in his *Augustinische Studien*⁴, and sets it forth thus, (p. 190 f.):

¹ *Geschichte des Montanismus*, von W. Belck, Leipzig, 1883.

² See Allen's *Continuity of Christian Thought; a Study of Modern Theology in the Light of its History*, Boston, 1884.

³ Cf. Förster's *Ambrosius, Bischof von Mailand*, Halle, 1884, and his use of Philo, Origen, and especially Basil.

⁴ *Ztft. f. Kirchengeschichte*, V. pp. 349-386; VI. pp. 159-192.

(1) " In the time of Augustine, he and his contemporaries, East and West, knew only one Catholic Church. A particular Greek Church did not then exist.

(2) Yet the Catholic East and the Catholic West were estranged in relations, partly by decay of Greek in the West and by no knowledge of Latin in the East.

(3) At the end of the fourth century and early in the fifth, however, in Numidia, especially in Hippo, not a few understood Greek. Augustine, although with difficulty, could read and expound Greek books.

(4) He prepared for the separation of East and West, and exercised an independent influence on the latter—not that his ignorance of Greek, but rather the productivity of his own genius, turned him from Greek theology.

(5) In discussing the trinity he rarely rests expressly on the Nicene creed; he does not oppose it, but his teachings are usually not literally Nicene. He knew nothing of the Creed of Constantinople, and used the trinitarian discussions of either Greek or Latin authors very little.

(6) The sources show the view to be untenable that the Christology of the West was unconditionally dependent on the East; also the notion that the doctrine of the person of Christ was solely a problem for the Greeks. The Christology of Augustine rests immediately on that of Ambrose, and neither was directly influenced by the teaching of Athanasius.

(7) In the West, since Tertullian, a relatively independent Christological formula had arisen, and was kept by tradition. Ambrose and Augustine drew from this, and did not wish to define a particular doctrine of the person of Christ, but set forth what they found to be the teaching of the church.

(8) The *Epistola Leontis ad Flavianum* is the fruit of Western development, and most of its theses can be proved from Ambrose and Augustine.

§ 7. *Church Constitution and Worship.*

While Heinrici and Hatch have hardly made evident the origin of the organization of the early churches in the forms of religious societies among the Greeks and Romans, (*θιασμοι*, Sodalities) it has been shown that they were largely influenced from such a source. An inscription found 1884 in Thessalonica calls the president of a heathen club *ἀρχισυνάγωγος*, borrowing the name, perhaps, from the Jews. On the other hand Lucian calls his Christian, Peregrinus, a *θιασάρχης*. Neumann adds the notice¹ that Celsus (Origen, Cont. Cels. III. 22) calls the disciples *θιασῶται*, i. e., members of a religious club about Jesus; each church formed a fanatical group of *θιάσμοι*. Though the Christians did not use the term, Origen does not reject it. A similar borrowing of a name from heathen officials has been found² in an epitaph of N. Africa—*flamen perpetuus christianus*. These considerations are so strong

¹ *Jahrb. für Prot. Theologie*, 1885, H. 1.

² V. Schultze in Zöckler's *Handbuch d. theol. Wissenschaften*, 2 Aufl. Bd. 2, p. 242.

that such a conservative historian as Kurtz says¹ that the prevalent idea, started by Vitringa, that the early church was formed on the model of the synagogue may now be regarded as given up. The heathen fraternity, formed with special reference to introducing new religions (oriental), social, with initiation rites, discipline, and regular officers, burying its own dead, recognized by law and granted special rights—along such lines the young christian societies took shape, not in the way of direct imitation, but in the course of parallel development.

The *Teaching of the Apostles* shows the continuance of charismatic officers as leaders in the church of the second century, where they appear essentially as in I Cor. xii, 28; Eph. iv, 11, *i. e.*, apostles, prophets and teachers, the two last being the same persons under different names. Travelling evangelists were successors of the Apostles, and formed a bond of union among the churches, before the New Testament Canon was formed or the hierarchy arose. These prophets fell with the rise of Montanism, when the other group of officers, bishops and deacons, who were at first more local, business officials, came to lead the churches. The *Teaching* further confirms the view that there was liberty in the mode of early baptism. It might be by pouring or immersion, with warm or cold water. Early christian art shows the same freedom of usage². As early as

¹ *Lehrbuch d. Kirchengeschichte, 9e Aufl. in durchgängig erneuerter Bearbeitung*, Leipzig, 1885, p. 40 f.—a thorough bringing of the book up to date, and most valuable for the student. His description of present theological parties in Germany agrees essentially with that given in these *Discussions* last year.

² Cf. E. Smythe's article in *Andover Review*, May, 1884.

the time of the *Teaching* we can also now trace an incipient liturgy. The Lord's Prayer was to be said three times a day, and a form of prayer and thanksgiving is given for the Eucharist. We find here, too, an early confirmation of "the Lord's Day," as the sacred day of the christians, and supporting the reference in Ignatius (*Ep. ad Magnesios*, ix). The worship of the Egyptian Church has been presented to us thoroughly for the first time in Butler's work referred to above. In some essentials it is the same as it was fifteen centuries ago. Each church has three altars, not one as in the Greek churches; and the altars always stand clear in their chapels, as at first was the custom in the West. The Greek Church alone rejects a plurality of altars. On the Coptic altar is a wooden ark, a box about nine inches high, in which the chalice is placed at consecration; this explains the altar *arca*, which has hitherto puzzled liturgists. Pictures abound, but no statues; neither is there a crucifix on the altar. Coptic art was freer than that of the Greek Church, and never depicted death or hell, but kept to the early custom. Among the vestments the dalmatic was white, as in Ireland. Butler says that priestly robes arose in the East, and then continues, "a well-dressed Arab from the bazaars of Cairo is a better illustration of the origin of christian vestments than all the sculptures of Athens or Rome." (Vol. II, p. 125.) Armlets were worn by the Coptic clergy, as by the early clergy of Gaul, and by them only in the West; they were derived very likely from Egyptian monks, as in the case of the Celtic bish-

ops. Baptism takes place by immersion, unless in cases of sickness, when aspersion is used. Confirmation follows at once, and even infants receive the Lord's Supper.

§ 8. *Monasticism.*

Weingarten, as we have seen,¹ brought the rise of monasticism again into discussion, and the investigation is still going on, until not much of his position seems left unassailed. One thing, however, appears pretty certain, viz: that the ascetic idea began to prevail in the church much earlier than many suppose. Harnack's view, that monasticism sprang from the ascetic tendency within the church itself, has been adopted by Bornemann,² who, however, follows Weingarten in regarding the eulogistic descriptions of early monastic life, by Hieronymus, Rufinus and Palladius, as of little historic value, and not to be used as sources.³ He rejects Weingarten's theory deriving monasticism from the service of Serapis. It arose in Egypt—that is about all that we can affirm with certainty. Origin was, in a sense, the father of this ascetic movement—at all events, the six points in such a life, *paupertas, castitas, contemplatio, anachoresis, exercitia ascetica*, and the *vita communis* are all included in the ideal which he

¹ *Current Discussions*, Vol. I, p. 102, 1883.

² *In investiganda monachatus origine quibus de causis ratio habenda sit Origenis*, Göttingen, 1885.

³ Cf. Lucius, *Quellen d. älteren Ges. aegypt. Mönchthums, in Zft. f. K. G.*, VII, H. 2, who shows that Rufinus never made the visit to Egypt claimed in his *Hist. Monachorum*; his work is likely from a Greek collection of monkish stories—the same from which Sozomenus drew.

found in the Scriptures. It is hence pretty evident that the ascetic idea was firmly rooted in the time of Origen, and worked from Egypt and Syria into its later forms. Antony of Coma, and not Paul of Thebes, must be regarded as the founder of early monasticism; and there seems no reason for putting its rise after the time of Constantine. The name of another Egyptian monk, the "prophet" S  nuti, has been made prominent¹ by Revillout. He was head of the Pachomian monks in the first half of the fifth century, and, if he did not frame their rules, put them in shape and gave them completeness and efficacy. These inferences are drawn from the half legendary biography, as well as letters and sermons by Besa, a disciple of S  nuti, all recently discovered.

¹ *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1883, pp. 401-467, and 545-581.

CHAPTER II.

THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH.

§ 9. *Literature of the Sources.*¹

The mediæval church found its most fruitful development in the Holy Roman Empire of German nationality; and yet the orthodox conservatism of the Greek Church was largely that of treasure-keepers, preserving ancient learning for the glorious Renaissance, when the Germanic tribes had gone through the legal school of Rome, and were ready for more liberal teachers. Photius left more learned successors than is usually supposed, and down to the fall of Constantinople the ancient fire burned. We have just heard² of an unknown Greek theologian of the tenth century—Arethras, Archbishop of Caesarea—who studied Homer and Aristotle, Athanasius and most of the Greek fathers, Josephus, Philo and the version of Aquila, and who has left a commentary on the Apocalypse, which shows wide reading. "But for him a part of the early Christian Apologies would apparently never have been known in the West." (p. 46.)

The Latin literature of the Middle Ages—Monkish chronicles, royal records and papal *regesta*—is now put within the reach of students by a critical

¹ Schaff's Church History excels all others in the literature of the subject. The new Vol. IV, New York, 1885, extends from Gregory I to Gregory VII.

² Harnack, *Die Ueberlieferung*, etc. See above.

publication of original documents as never before. The Yearbooks of the Carolingian Kings are coming¹ to us from the Historic Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences. Following those of Charles Martel and Pepin, we have those of Louis the Pious, Charlemagne and Conrad III. Whether such accounts are court annals (Ranke) or partly such (Bernays, 1883) or later productions (V. Sybel), they are sources for the time of their composition, and of great value². We hear in them of Charlemagne's provision of bibles and homilies for the clergy, although we see he did not elevate preaching as much as is commonly thought³. We receive full accounts of the adoption and *filioque* controversy. Simson's view, that Charlemagne was surprised by the pope's act of coronation, is accepted by others.

Leo was not blinded nor mutilated. The pallium was given to simple bishops; and the view is confirmed that the pope must receive Charlemagne's written sanction of election before consecration. The papal archives in the Vatican form a vast field for research⁴. The papal *regesta* alone embrace the records of John VIII and Gregory VII, (of the XI cent.) Gregory XIII, Innocent IX, Clement VIII,

¹ *Jahrb. des frank. Reiches unter Karl d. Grossen*, von S. Abel, fortgesetzt von B. Simson, Leipzig, 1883. Cf. *Mitteilungen aus der hist. Litteratur*, herausg. v. d. hist. Gesellschaft in Berlin, 1884, H. 3, p. 246; and for other publications of the Soc., *Hist. Zft.* 1884 H. 4, p. 189 f.

² Cf. Kaufmann, *Hist. Zft.*, 1885, H. 4.

³ Cf. on preaching in M. A. *Jahresberichte d. Geschichtswissenschaft*, Berlin, 1883, p. ii. 209 f.

⁴ Palmieri, *Ad Vaticani Archivi Romanorum pontificum regesta manu ductio*, Romae, 1884.

and, with few exceptions, a full series from Innocent III to Sixtus V—in all 2,019 volumes. Those of Paul III fill 270 vols., those of John XXII contain 60,000 documents; and the chronological order is so neglected that it is possible to find the records of a year (e. g. first year of Paul III) scattered through 124 vols. The standard publication here was, of course, Jaffé's *Regesta pontificum usque ad annum 1198*; but this, even in its last enlarged edition¹, which contains in the parts published—to A. D. 1105—6,027 bulls, where Jaffé had only 4,500, and embracing 233 pope's letters contributed by E. Bishop from the British Museum, and 66 other inedita from Gelasius II, and Pelagius I and II, still left much to be gleaned. The work is being carried on by von Pflugk-Harttung, whose book, *Iter Italicum*², gives a great mass of new material. We have an account of the new papal documents found, to the year 1200, with imperial edicts, hitherto unpublished, from 100 different cities. Some of the documents go back to the second century; 100 are of the eleventh century, about 800 are of the twelfth; 1,005 regesta are given, nearly all lacking in Jaffé. Among the edicts 25 are from Louis the Pious, Lothair I, Frederick I and II, Basil of Macedonia and Roger of Sicily. Ninety-three unpublished documents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries contain letters of Italian priests, chronicles, poems, etc., in order of time. We get also a codex of the thirteenth

¹ *Regesta pont. Roman., ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum 1198*. Ed. P. Jaffé: Ed. sec. correctam et auctam ausp. G. Wattenbach, curaverunt S. Loewenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner, R. Ewald, Fasc. I—VI, Lipsiae, 1881–84.

² 2 Abthl. I, pp. 1–343; II, pp. 343–908, Stuttgart, 1883–84.

century called *Canones*, which contains papal letters, including many from Gregory I, and decisions of councils. V. Harttung offers further help by giving¹ a list of original papal sources and pretended originals, with a note to each on receiver, appearance, age, and present place of preservation. Nine hundred and sixty-three MSS. are thus grouped and described. A fit comparison to Jaffé and v. Harttung is the volume of the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, 1883, which contains the papal epistles of the thirteenth century². Three hundred and forty-two letters are published from the time of Honorius III, and 369 of Gregory IX—many here given for the first time.

French scholars are also doing thorough work in this field³; especially is *L'ecole française de Rome* interested in such research. M. Berger's work⁴ on Innocent IV, in which he gives whole or in extracts 4,107 bulls, shows how many mistakes papal secretaries of the thirteenth century made, and how carefully still earlier accounts should be examined. This love of historic investigation has seized upon his Holiness Leo XIII. He has appointed a Historic Commission, suggested likely by Cardinal Hergenröther; he encourages Catholic students to investigate the Vatican archives, and permits even

¹ *Hist. Jahrbuch* (Görres Gesellschaft), 1884, H. 4.

² *Epist. Saec. XIII e regestis Pont. Roman. selectae* per G. H. Pertz, ed. C. Rodenberg, Berlin, 1883. Other works in the *Monumenta* of interest are *D. Magni Ausonii opuscula*; *Q. Aurelii Symmachi* quae supersunt; and *Alcimi Ecdicii Aviti Viennensis episcopi opera* q. supersunt—published 1883, Berlin.

³ Cf. *Les Registres de Boniface VIII d'après les manuscrits originaux*, par G. Digard, G. Faucon, and Thomas, pt. I, 1884.

⁴ *Registres d'Innocent IV*, 1884.

Protestant scholars to look into its manuscript treasures. He may well with pardonable pride put his portrait in this opened library with the words, *Leo XIII Pont. Max. historiae Studiis consulens tabularii arcana reclusit*, A. 1880. Balan's work (see p.) was the first fruit of this free policy; and the next is the *Regesta* of Leo X¹, intended to set the history of that pope in its true light. A Protestant contribution² handles the relation of Otto I to the papacy. The claims of the temporal power of the popes rest on privileges bearing the names of Pepin (754), Charlemagne (774), Louis the Pious (817) and Otto I (962), all of which are disputed as forgeries. Most interest attaches to the last, because it alone is held to exist in the original, being jealously guarded in the Vatican. Ficker considered it a forgery, though an essential reproduction of the genuine document. Sickel shows, about conclusively, that it is an ornamental copy of the original, made at the same time, and so, genuine. Von Hartung thinks it is the very original, made in the imperial office. The relative credibility of the privilege of Louis is also accepted.

Thus the study of mediæval sources goes on, and as it proceeds certainty attaches itself more or less to a different set of persons and events, and the student feels the growing need of some dictionary of this period which will give the story of men and movements as now apprehended by historic science. If the work of Smith and Wace could be continued,

¹ *Leo X Regesta*, fascic. I, ed. J. Hergenröther, Friburg, 1884.

² *Das Privilegium Otto I, für die römische Kirche vom Jahr 962*, von Th. Sickel, Innsbruck, 1883.

or the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*¹ be widened for such a purpose and made universal, it would help fill the gap. The nearest approach to such a desideratum is the French work² of Abbe Chevalier, the first part of which he calls a *Bibliographie*. It contains the names of all persons mentioned in the Middle Ages, and tells what works speak of them. It is a very helpful book, containing 40,000 articles of real value.

Turning for a moment to the mediæval chronicles, we observe that critical editions of old works and new publications are appearing in both England³ and Germany.⁴

§ 10. *Mediæval Missions.*

The Iro-Scottish church is the only product which we meet of Christianity acting upon free Celtic nations. The liberal, poetic, somewhat rational-

¹ Published by the Historic Commission of the Bavarian Academy, and now reaching beyond the 100th part (Letter M) Leipzig.

² *Repertoire des sciences historiques du moyen age*, Part I; two more are to follow. Paris, 1883.

³ Cf. the "Master of the Rolls" series, which gives *Historia regum and Hist. Ecclesiæ Dunhelmenis*, both by Simeon of Durham; also *A Life of Thomas à Becket, in Icelandic, with English translation*, two vols., 1873-83, which shows how early the story of his life spread in Iceland, and the deep influence it had on Church and State there—Thomas was honored next to the Virgin; Vol. VII of *Matthæi Parisiensis monachi St. Albani chronica majora*, etc., Luard, London, 1883, with valuable prolegomena; and *Registrum epp. fratris Johannis Peckham Archiepiscopi Cant.*, two vols., 1881-84, most hitherto unpublished. Peckham was a rigid Franciscan, and friend of Nicolas III against Edward I.

⁴ In the *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* (in Monumenta G. Hist.) the mediæval chronicles are included. Following the *Annales Laurisenses*, we have the *Annales Bertiani*, recens. G. Waitz, Hannover 1883, containing works of Prudentius of Troyes (835-61) and Hincmar of Rheims (861-82). Cf., also writings in *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, published by the Imperial Academy, Vienna.

istic, and, above all, adventurous spirit of these tribes, combined with their love of learning, has attracted not a little attention from recent scholars, and given us a more correct historic picture of their work. The literary attainments of the Irish monks was higher than is usually thought. It embraced the study of the classics, including Greek. Latin poetry was a favorite mode of composition, and even Hebrew was known. Irish scholars planted learning in England, helped save the Empire of Charlemagne (Clement, Alcuin) from the policy of ignorant devotion favored by Gregory I, and kindled torches of instruction on the continent for centuries—witness Johannes Scotus at the court of Charles the Bald, and Israel, a Scottish bishop, brought from Treves by Otto I, to teach Greek in Germany.¹

New light has fallen recently upon Patrick, the great missionary to Ireland.² From the Irish monastery in Würzburg, a manuscript collection of saints' lives found its way to Brussels, in which there was a MS. of the eleventh century, containing the lost beginning of the life of St. Patrick; this is given in the completed *Vita* lately published.³ We are informed that Patrick was born very likely at Kilpatrick on the Clyde; he underwent a second captivity of two months after many years, and returned home

¹ Cf. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought*, London, 1884; and for the Celtic church at home, Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. II, *Church and Culture*, Edinburgh, 1877—indispensable for the student of this subject; also the series, *The Historians of Scotland*—e. g., Vol. V, *Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern*, Edinburgh, 1874.

² *The Scottish Review*, July, 1884, Art. III.

³ *Vita St. Patricii . . . nunc primum integra ex libro Armachano*, etc., Ed. R. P. E. Hogan, Brussels, 1872.

"after a few years as before." He visited France and was taught by Germanus thirty (others forty) years. He was called by an Irish Christian, Victorinus, not by an angel, to preach in Ireland. Germanus sent a priest, Segitius, with him. They heard of the death of Palladius in Curbia, and Patrick was made bishop. The statements of Tirechan in his *Collectanea* must be modified. Patrick did not live to be 120, but more likely from 70 to 80 years. Neither was he sent by Pope Celestine, as Romanists hold.

Recent research shows, further, that the favorite theory of English Protestants, advocated in Germany by Ebrard, that the early British church was apostolic and evangelical, is untenable. The life of the British and Scottish churches was essentially the same as that of their brethren on the continent, and their connection with the Roman Church suffered very little disturbance;¹ the rules for monastic life formed by Columbanus (*Regula cœnobialis Columbani*, and the *Liber Columbani de pœnitentiis*, etc), now about proven genuine,² make evident that absolute obedience, a regular system of flogging, and very legalistic ordinances, accompanied the deeper teaching of the *Regula*, with its three degrees of divine perfection. Loos thinks the difference of tonsure and Easter observance between Britons and Saxons was small, compared with their national hate; but the Scotch and Saxons differed further by the

¹ Cf. Loos, *Antiquæ Britonum, Scotorumque ecclesiæ, quales fuerint mores*, Lipsiæ, 1882.

² By Loos, and still more by O. Seebass, *Ueber Columba von Luxeuil's Klosterregel und Bussbuch*, Dresden, 1883.

whole church constitution of the former, which made the monastery, not the diocese, the basis of organization. The battle of the confessions was, as is well known, renewed on the continent—the leading figure being Boniface; accordingly, the order of study has brought him and his times afresh into the field of minute investigation. Ebrard, of course, regards him¹ as a papal emissary, a Roman spy—not a missionary, but an enslaver of Germany. Calmer study brings out the Christian zeal of Boniface, especially as reflected in private letters and his life-long intercourse with his English home.² We see him in contact with Irish culture through his friend Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne—a man whose studies embraced Roman law, music, poetry, mathematics, astronomy, history, Greek, and perhaps Hebrew. We see what a deep interest godly women of England took in Boniface and his mission-work. The letters of Abbess Aelfleda of Whitby, Eadburga of Thanet, and others, are full of ecstatic affection. Such women had visions, which Boniface believed true; they also were fond of pilgrimages to Rome, against which the bishop warned them, saying, “Many perish, and there are few cities in Lombardy or France or Gallia in which there is not an English adulteress or prostitute.” He urged Cudberth of Canterbury to call reform synods, as he had done in Francia, declaring that only the Angles and Slavs were drunkards. Hahn also proves that the sermons ascribed to Boniface are not genuine.

¹ In his *Bonifatius der Zerstörer des Columban. Kirchenthums auf dem Festland* (1882), where he replies to the more impartial book of Fischer, *Bonifatius, der Apostel der Deutschen* (1881).

² Cf. Hahn, *Bonifatius und Lul, Ihre angelsächsischen Korrespondenten*, Leipzig, 1883.

§ 11. *The Papacy and the Empire.*

The claims of the Papacy to Italy because Pepin gave it to Stephan II, and Charlemagne confirmed it to Hadrian I, as said to be found in *Vita Hadriani I*, are shown by Scheffer-Boichorst to consist in this: both rulers gave land to the pope, but it included only the Exarchate of Ravenna and the Duchy of Rome. The other three-fourths defined in Hadrian's Life are additions of a later editor.¹ A greater literary fiction in behalf of the Papacy—the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals—has just had some light thrown upon it in a study of Hincmar.² He knew of forgeries in his day, but did not doubt the authority of these decretals. Their origin had a local cause (845–52), and they arose neither in Mayence nor in Rheims, but in the diocese of Tours. Among their framers were Rothad of Soissons and Wulfad, of Rheims, just the leaders of the Episcopal party which fought the metropolitan claims of Hincmar of Rheims, and put forward his nephew, Hincmar of Laon, at the right moment to head the rebellion with the pseudo-decretals in his hand. In this conflict the authority of the far off pope was exalted in order to crush the ambition of the archbishop near at hand. Such a weapon the papacy knew well how to use, as the long struggle shows, which ended for a time in the Concordat of Worms (1122). What the exact terms of this truce were is not yet exactly settled. The latest conclusion is that the

¹ *Mittheilungen des Instituts für oesterreichis. Geschichtsforschung*, Bd. V. H. 2, 1884; Cf. also Sickel *Privil. Otto I*, p. 25.

² Schrörs *Hincmar Erzbischof von Reims, Sein Leben u. Seine Schriften*, Freiburg, 1884.

Concordat did not, as commonly thought, put the election of bishops into the hands of the Cathedral Chapter, but this right of choice was part of the growing influence of the Chapter in Episcopal affairs—the development of their right to elect running pretty nearly parallel with the growth of their right of consent.¹ In this long contest one of the most powerful supports of the popes was the monastic network which overspread Europe in the service of Rome. Late studies show that this is true not only of the great orders—especially the Dominican—but also of such an order as the Monks of Hirschau. Its members were not learned, nor charitable, but full of minute discipline and devotion, most Romanized ascetics. They carved images and built cathedrals as acts of worship; they followed the hierarchy more than German monastic rule; they leaned on the aristocracy; and, supported by strong lay brethren, weathered many social storms and spread into Austria, Saxony and Bohemia.² Through them largely was Swabia true to the papacy in the investiture controversy. Out of this war the popes came strong in both dominion and wealth. In a recent list of inventories³ of papal riches from A. D. 1200 to 1400, we read of crucifixes, tabernacles, chalices,

¹ Cf. Below in *Hist. Studien*, H. II, 1883; Ibach, *Der Kampf zw. Papstthum u. Kaiserthum von Greg. VII bis Calixt II.* Frankf. 1884; Stern, *Z. Urban II., Beiträge z. Ges. des Investiturstreits*, Berlin, 1883; and Wolfram, *Friedrich I u. das Wormser Concordat*, Marburg, 1883.

² Cf. Gisecke, *Die Hirschauer während des Investiturstreites*, Gotha, 1883.

³ Cf. *Il tesoro della basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano dal XIII al XV Secolo con una Scelta, d' inventarii inediti*, in *Archiv. del. Società Rom. di Storia Patria*, 1883, 1-137.

etc., of gold and silver, books, ornaments, decorations, most amazing in number and costliness. Then when the pope's rule declined we find his treasury empty. Under the reign of Boniface VIII and successors we are told of bankruptcy, princes refusing money and nations rebellious.¹ We may close this section with a word in favor of the mediæval popes. Lamansky makes it very probable that Alexander VI was not poisoned by the cup intended by him for Cardinal Adrian, but was deliberately put to death by that prelate in collusion with the Venetian Government. We hear also how the life of John II was to be taken, as well as that of his successors, Hadrian VI, and Clement VII, for poisoning was a fine art, and State poisons were kept in an official box in Venice.² Another result reached is that Philip the Fair did not publicly burn the bull *Ausculta fili*; if he did such a thing, the bull destroyed was that concerning the quarrel between the church and the people of Laon.³

§ 12. *Mohammedanism.*

The faith of Islam came in contact with the corrupt church of the Middle Ages as the most dangerous competitor which Christianity ever met. For a long time the false notion of Mohammed and his creed, set forth by Voltaire, viz., that he was a

¹ For the details of papal poverty cf. Grandjean, *Recherches sur l'administration financ. du Pape Benoît XI*, in *Journal des Savants*, March, 1884.

² Lamansky, *Secrets d'Etat de Venise, a la fin du XV et au XVI Siècle*, St. Petersburg, 1884.

³ So Rocquain in *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, T. 44, livr. 5-6, 1883.

rank imposter, prevailed, and only of late has the fairer view begun to spread. Muir admits that the prophet was an earnest truth-seeker in the early Mecca period, and agrees with all recent students that the Medina period was marked by expediency, cruelty, sensuality as motive, and the sword as instrument. But further research denies that Mohammed was a great genius, with religious ideas far beyond his fellow Arabs. He was essentially a product of his time;¹ in all fundamentals one of his people, and the Arabic in his religion separated it from narrow Judaism and Catholic Christianity.² And yet he was greatly influenced, as is now admitted by all, by both these other religions; and it is quite possible that the national form in which he met Christianity led him to put his broad ideas in the same shape. It is certain that the Abyssinian missionaries, who labored in Arabia long before the time of Mohammed, and the Syrian Christians whom he met, taught a national Christianity of a narrow Jacobite type, rather than the truly Catholic faith. The Mecca period finds him more under true Christian influence; the Medina period led him to the national point of view of religion.³ Ranke draws a supplementary comparison between Islam and Catholic Christianity from the standpoint of general history, in treating "The

¹ Kuenen, *Volksreligion u. Weltreligion*, (also in English) 1883, pp. 14, 37 f.

² Krehl, *Das Leben des Muhammed*, Leipzig 1884, p. 28; also Wellhausen's Article, *Muhammed* in *Encycl. Britt.* 9 ed., and Muir, *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, London, 1883.

³ For an extreme carrying out of this view, cf. Bestmann, *Die Anfänge des Kathol. Christenthums u. des Islams*, Nördlingen, 1884.

Arab universal rule and the Empire of Charlemagne."¹ Islam had power to move the world because of the peculiar union of religious and secular forces in it; Church and State were one. This put a new ferment in the world's history. The Eastern Empire came in contact with it, and the Greeks began to teach Monothelitism and destroy images. The East became so leavened with the Mohammedan idea that the new empire of the West found a historic right to rise and be (754); for here, while there was much temporary blending of church and state, their independence was fought for through all the ages. Almost in conscious opposition to Islam, which threatened Europe, South and West, did the papacy and the French rulers unite in Christian missions. Boniface with his axe against the heathen oak and Charles Martel at Tours saved Europe for pope and king.

§ 13. *The Crusades.*

Great attention is now being turned towards the Eastern and Arabian sources of information respecting the crusades,² and more than formerly the conflict of Christians and Muslim is considered as wholly of worldly interest on the part of the latter, and pretty largely so on the part of the former. And yet, the papacy and the Church must remain

¹ *Weltgeschichte*, Vol. V. pt. 5.

² Besides the publications of *l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, Paris, cf. those of the *Société de l'Orient latin*, which in a recent publication, *Inventaire sommaire des MSS. relatifs à l'histoire et à la Géographie de l'Orient latin*, I, France, Paris, 1882, begins to collect and describe all MSS. relating to the East—e. g., on Turkish wars, knights, crusades, etc. Prutz's work, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1883, draws especially from Arab sources.

an important factor in the movement. From crusade sermons preached through Europe and recently published, we can see the deep tide of religious enthusiasm which moved multitudes to cry, "It is the will of God." Urban's sermon at Clermont dwelt on the Holy Land wasted by the Infidels, their wrongs to pilgrims, and the danger to Christendom from the Saracens. Bernard of Clairvaux, in his appeal for the second crusade, cried, "The Holy Land is in danger—shall God lose his country?" It is a glorious opportunity to volunteer for God, for He who might summon angels wishes to have men. The failure of the crusade Bernard ascribed to the sins of the leaders. But the cause was of God, who turned Israel back from the border of Canaan. The Bishop of Oporto told northern crusaders that they marched for Christ's dear sake against the outrageous Moors; encouraged them to murder, poison, and desecration among the Infidels, for all was right in the good cause. But he added, "Not having been in Jerusalem is praiseworthy, but a pious life."

Abbé Martin of Paris (1200) preached: "Not I, but Christ speaks to you. He is driven from the city where he lived, wrought miracles, and died; his cross is lost, and none knows where to find it. Come help the Saviour enter his land again." A crusade sermon in England (1216) has: "Christ will give salvation if you take the cross. He thirsted for you—will you do nothing for him? What will you say at the day of judgment?"¹

¹ Cf. Röhricht, *Kreuzpredigten gegen den Islam*, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, VI, p. 550 f.

The crusades were not started by Peter the Hermit. In reference to the fourth crusade, Tessier shows¹ that the common view is wrong. The Venetians did not plot to turn the crusaders aside; neither were the French deceived. The course taken was due to circumstances and the belief that it best served the interests of the crusade. Innocent III was not angry, but rather pleased at the delay in Venice, for it looked towards a union of the Eastern and Western churches.

§ 14. *Christian Beneficence.*

A wide field, still to be cultivated, is that of Christian life in the Middle Ages; there are many monographs touching upon it, but no thorough, connected treatment. How dark the world of decaying heathenism was, amid which the mediæval missionaries tried to teach sweet reasonableness and charity, is well known from such works as those of Martin of Brascara and Salvianus.² One of its saddest elements was the neglect of the poor, the weak and the stranger. The Christian idea was that of a community of burden-bearing; hence the early Christians regarded the care of the destitute as a part of the work of each church, the bishop being the great overseer of the poor. But, as the Middle

¹ *Quatrième croisade, La diversion sur Zara et Constantinople*, 1883.

² See Martin's *De correctione rusticorum* zum ersten Mal vollständig u. in verbessertem Text herausgegeben mit Anmerk. begleitet u. mit einer Abhlg. über dieselbe sowie über Martin's Leben, etc., von C. P. Caspari, Christiana, 1883; and *Salviani P. Massil. opera omnia*, recens. F. Pauly, Vol. VIII of *Corpus Scrip. Eccles.*, Vienna, 1883; cf. also *The Divine Origin of Christianity, indicated by its historical effects*, by R. S. Storrs, New York, 1884.

Ages rolled by, the Catholic Church gave up the theory that the property of the Church belonged to the poor,¹ and the parish system perished. The Romish Church never returned to the proper method. Christianity, even in the dark ages, showed it was of God, and individual saints exhibited a sweet charity never surpassed.² But the papal church could not go to the root of the matter, for it fell into monkish theories which made poverty a virtue, beggar monks the chief saints, and alms the special means of grace in supporting masses for the sinful and the dead. Pauperism became more and more a State burden, for the monasteries sucked up the alms of the Church. Protestantism is now clearly seen to have led the way back to the better care of the poor which is everywhere attempted. Brotherly love, not monastic narrowness, broad charity, not guild affection, the prevention of poverty, not lazy monks with alms-giving a virtue, and that new center of blessed hospitality, a pastor's house—these came in with the Reformation.³ The original parish care of the poor, given back to Christianity by Protestantism, has so approved itself that it has permeated even the Romish Church. In the days of the Reformers we hear of forty Lutheran and eight Reformed organizations, which sought to oppose begging by a church treasury (Lutheran) or a special

¹ Cf. Ratzinger, *Geschichte der Kirchl. Armenpflege*, 2 Aufl., Freiburg, 1884, more Ultramontane than the first edition, 1868.

² Cf. *Life of St. Margaret of Scotland* (11th century), by her confessor, Bishop Turgot, transl. by Forbes Leith, Edinburgh, 1884; and, in general, the valuable book of Uhlhorn, *Die Christl. Liebesthätigkeit*, Bd. 2, Das Mittelalter, Stuttgart, 1884.

³ Cf. Hering, *Die Liebesthätigkeit der deutschen Reformation*, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1883, H. 4, 1884, H. 2, 1885, H. 2.

poor fund (Reformed).¹ To these means add the aim to save the poor from poverty by helping them to self-support, and the joining of personal interest to pecuniary aid, and there opens up before us the better path of reasonable charity.²

§ 15. *Monastic Orders.*

The order of the Dominicans laid great stress upon Church Doctrine, and hence followed the papacy as the *domini canes* to devour all heretics. The Franciscans never forgot the lessons of their founder, and always emphasized religious life and charity. This led them, in the later Middle Ages, to oppose those popes who were tyrannical and worldly, and, under John XXII, "the man of blood," a discussion arose in the Order. From some manuscript fragments of the Chronicle of Nicolaus Minorita, we glean the following.³ Michael Cesara held that pope John was under a General Council and that he was guilty of heresy and errors (1330). He was especially wrong in opposing the views of poverty held by the Minorites. He was a Sabellian, also, for he taught *Beati in patria videbunt magnam novitatem, scilicet Deum trinum et unum, et est mirabilis novitas videre tres personas adinvicem non distinctas, nam filius non distinguitur a patre neque spiritus sanctus a patre et filio*. Three errors are ascribed to John:

- 1) The Saints will not reach full glory till after

¹Riggenbach, *Das Armenwesen der Reformation*, 1883, pp. 56.

²The method of Chalmers, as now generally followed, cf. *Armenpflege* in Herzog u. Plitt, R. E. 1877, and Stimson, *The New Charity*, *Andover Review*, Feb. 1885.

Given by Müller, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, VI, p. 80 ff.

the Judgment, (2) nor the wicked enter perdition till after the Judgment, and (3) Christ's reign will cease at the Judgment and be given to the Father.

Michael was deposed as General of the Order for holding (1) that the Emperor could depose the pope—he held it of criminal popes, (2) the pope is fallible, (3) the whole Church is fallible in mere matters of business. Michael appealed to the Church, and was supported by some able men, among others by William of Occam. His English common sense said to the pope: "The Divine Scriptures teach, the examples of the saints show, right reason discloses, human rights perceive, and brotherly charity persuades us that a reason should be given for everything." He bitterly attacks papal abuses as he saw them for four years in Avignon, calling John *pseudo-papa*, *hereticus manifestus*, etc.

The Minorite monks were numerous—we hear of 42 monasteries on the Rhine in the XIIIth century—and when, after 1322, the conservative majority joined the "Spirituals" against the papacy the conflict was bitter and far-reaching, for John determined to root out the very theory of spiritual poverty on which the Order stood. We learn also that the University of Paris was active in opposing the beggar monks of the XIIIth century. The "Excerpts" of Joachim's *Evangelium Æternum* are now shown to have been a perverted summary of the errors of the "Everlasting Gospel",¹ made c. 1154, unreliable, and the source of much false teach-

¹ *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Ed. vii, H. 3.

ing about Joachim. The pope dealt gently with him, and favored the Francisians, while the University was censured. The belief in the inspiration of Joachim as a prophet had spread, we now know, widely through both the great orders of monks. In 1259 the decline of Joachimism began, though the last movement based on it took place as late as 1466, when the Minorite Janks of Wirsberg sought to form an apocalyptic sect. The inner life of the first part of this movement still needs elucidation, although Tocco has traced it¹ to 1350; and its connection with the Mystics, the Albigences and other free spirits has been shown by Müller, as part of a protestant spiritual reaction against the Papacy and the Inquisition. This apocalyptic movement was closely connected also with the Flagellant outburst (1260) though the direct cause was the idea that God's wrath was in the plague which swept Europe² and that bodily torture was the best means of expiation. The massacre of the Jews sprang from the same belief (1348) in South France, and left its track of blood across Christendom. Recent studies show this Mysticism, whose excesses we here meet, to have spread in the pre-Reformation centuries, like a net-work over all Germany, the head centres being Dominican monasteries, but every cloister affording it a refuge. The followers of Master Eckhard—monks, nuns, priests, laymen—with their inner light, prayer circles and neglect of ceremonial were undermining the Hierarchy. Mystic chron-

¹ *L'eresia nel medio evo*, etc., 1884; cf. Müller, l. c.

² Cf. Höniger, *Der Schwarze Tod in Deutschland*, Berlin, 1882.

icles—some typical ones—recently published¹ show a strange blending of devotion, prophesy and fanaticism. God told Margaret Ebner that the infant Christ did not pull the wise men's hair; that Mary gave their gifts to the poor; and that He would take Louis of Bavaria to Heaven. Also that the Jews were the cause of the plague.

Most ecstatic and sensuous terms are used to describe the communion of the soul with Jesus. Müller points out further that the reference to "the Great Friend of God from the Oberland," whom K. Schmidt identified with Nicholas of Bale—a view which has prevailed for over thirty years, has now been settled by Denifle.² This supposed secret head of the Friends of God is a mystification made by Rulman Merswin, the Strasburg mystic (born 1307). There was no secret council among these Friends; neither was the Great Unknown a sort of secret pope—the unknown is a fiction of Merswin, whom he quoted in giving his own counsel to the brethren who gathered in his cloister. The strange conversion of Tauler is part of this same fiction, which seeks to exalt lay instruction in contrast to the shallow teaching of the priests. Jundt³ and Preger⁴ maintain the old view, but the editors of Herzog's Encyclopedia agree with Müller, Ritschl,

¹ *Margaretha Ebner u. Heinrich v. Nördlingen*, von P. Strauch, Freiburg, 1882.

² *Die Dichtungen des Gottesfreundes im Oberland*, in *Zft. f. Deutsches Altertum u. d. Litteratur*, N. F. XII, 1880, pp. 200-219; 280-324; and *Die Dichtungen R. Merswins* *ib.* Bd. XII u. XIII, 1880-81.

³ Art. *Johannes von Chur* in Herzog's R. E., 2d Ed.

⁴ *ib.* Arts. R. Merswin, 1884; and Tauler, 1885.

Möller, and most critics in following Denifle. Thus, instead of a misty secret society, appear simple living forms of men and women, who since the XIV century strove partly in secular life—especially from among those of noble birth—partly in monastic orders, to attain the ideal of mystic piety. They were moved by the great representatives of mysticism, standing towards one another, and especially toward these leaders and teachers, in a connection which was thoroughly free, and was kept up partly by personal, partly by written intercourse, and partly also by the communion of the Spirit.¹ In this circle we find women of culture, who give us our earliest German writings in prose. In this connection we also learn that the world was less ignorant in the XIV century than we usually think. Of 47 monks in Bildhausen (1324) only 11 could not write. The blossom and fruitage of this piety appear a little later in such writings as the *Imitatio Christi*. This has been again denied to Thomas à Kempis by Denifle, and a writer in the *Scottish Review* (1884, No. 8); but is maintained by others with convincing proofs.²

About the Dominicans, too, the great rivals of the Franciscans, we are now better informed. They were more thoroughly trained for their mission work than is usually supposed. By means of a great number of unpublished documents Douais shows³

¹ Müller, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, VII, p. 122.

² Hirsche, *Prolegom. zu. einer neuen Ausgabe der Imit. C. Bd.* I and II, 1873-83; and Kettlewell, *Thos. à K. and the Brethren of Common Life*, 2 Vols., London, 1882; also his *Authorship of the De Imit. Christi*, London, 1884.

³ *Essai sur l'organisation des études dans l'ordre des freres prêcheurs au XIII et au XIV Siècle.*

from their life in Toulouse, their earliest seat, that their course of study in the XIII and XIV century was most rigid, including Greek, Hebrew, and even Arabic for mission purposes. Especial attention was given to Apologetics and Homiletics—the order being *legendo, studendo et disputando* in defense of the faith. A brilliant illustration of such training is found in the life of Guillem Bernard de Gaillac (d. 1331), who could preach in Greek, translated the works of Thomas Aquinas into that language, and went to Constantinople to win the Eastern Church to the Papacy.² After a three years' novitiate, the student period ran on thus: (1) *Studium artium*, for three years; (2) *Studium naturalium*, including especially moral philosophy, two to three years; (3) *Studium theologiae*, three years; (4) *Studium solenne*, a course for teachers, which must embrace at least two students in each province.

§ 16. *Reform Movements.*

The new contributions to our knowledge of the Reformers before the Reformation concern almost entirely Wiclif and Hus. The year 1884, the quincentenary of the great Englishman, brought his importance into view as it had never before been realized. No Reformer has been so neglected by his countrymen as Wiclif. The chief reasons are traceable to Roman Catholic intrigues, which so covered the man and his work with slander and anathema that his writings lay for centuries in

² Cf. Molinier, *G. Bernard de Gaillac et l'enseignement chez les Dominicains à la fin du XIII Siècle*, in *Revue Historique*, T. 25, p. II, 1884.

oblivion. In 1858 but one or two of his English tracts were published; while of his Latin works—which alone are theologically valuable—only the *Triologus* was printed in England. But interest is at last aroused, and his works are coming rapidly into our hands.¹ The Life of Wiclif by Lechler, a new English version of which appeared in his honor²—has also done much to show the wide reaching influence of the Reformer, especially in his relation to Hus. Following the path indicated by Lechler, Loserth has led us to the place of clear historic certainty, and shows³ the full theological dependence of the Bohemian Reformer on the English philosopher. His later works (1409 ff.) e. g. his most important treatise *De Ecclesia*, not only borrow Wiclif's theology and thoughts, but do so frequently in the very words of the original. Compare the following description of the church:

Wiclif, *De Ecclesia*, Cap. I.

Illa autem est sponsa Christi, de qua est processus Cantici canticorum, de qua loquitur Scriptura Is. 61: Tamquam sponsam decoravit me corona. Hec etiam est mulier fortis, de qua patet Prov. 31. Ista est Jerusalem mater nostra, templum domini, regnum celorum, et civitas regis magni, que tota inquit Augustinus, Enchirid. 41 accipienda est, etc.

Hus, *Opera*, fol. 197a.

Illa igitur . . . est sponsa Christi, de qua est processus Cantici canticorum de qua Isaia 61 dicit: Quasi sponsum decoratum corona. . . . Hec est mulier fortis, cujus domestici vestiti sunt duplicibus Prov. 31. Ista est Jerusalem mater nostra, templum domini, regnum celorum et civitas regis magni que tota inquit Augustinus Enchirid. 41 accipienda est, etc.

¹ *The English works of Wiclif, hitherto unprinted*, ed. by F. D. Matthew, Early English Text Soc.; *John Wiclif's Polemic works in Latin*, London, 1884; published for the Wyclif Soc., ed. R. Budden-sieg. In 1880 Budden-sieg found in Vienna unknown Latin writings of Wiclif, and published, first the *De Christo et Adversario*, now 25 others against the Sects (Monks, Canons, Brothers, Caesarian clergy) and the Papacy.

² By Lorimer, London, 1884.

³ *Hus und Wiclif, zur Genesis der husitischen Lehre*, Prag, 1884; also in English by M. J. Evans, London, 1884.

In Hus' *De ablacione temporalium a clericis* he takes whole pages from Wiclif's *De ecclesia*, with such changes as *rex Boemie* for *rex Angliae*; he defended one of the so called 45 articles entirely in Wiclif's words; every idea in the *De sex erroribus*, copied on the walls of the Bethlehem chapel, came from Wiclif; his famous saying, *Nam a primo studii mei hoc michi statui pro regula, ut quocienscunque saniolem sententiam in quacunque materia perciperem, a priori sententia gaudenter et humiliter declinarem*, etc., is now shown to be nearly literally from his English master—and so, working over, copying, reproducing goes on in all the writing of Hus. Yet we see that Hus did not go so far in his doctrines as Wiclif; and in his Bohemian teachings he was more practical and less directly under control of the greater mind. On the other hand we see for the first time that Wiclif was in an important sense the only Reformer before the Reformation. He emphasized the great Puritan doctrines of (1) Augustinian views of God,¹ (2) the Bible the only rule of faith and practice, and (3) preaching by home missionaries, poor monks or presbyters. These new writings of his free him forever from the charge of double dealing or dishonesty of purpose. They illustrate, too, what three medallions in the University library, Prague, set forth: the highest showing Wiclif striking sparks from a stone, the next, Hus setting fire to coals, the third, Luther waving on high a blazing torch.²

¹ Cf. the Essay in Poole's work on *Wiclif's doctrine of Lordship*.

² Cf. also the good little work of Pennington, *John Wiclif, His Life, Times and Teaching*, London, 1884.

CHAPTER III.

THE REFORMATION AND POST REFORMATION CHURCH.

§ 17. *Nature of the Reformation.*

The Reformation is still the subject of frequent discussion; by Roman Catholics, who regard it as heresy and schism; by high Anglicans, who consider it a sad deformation; by the great majority of Protestants, who know it was the work of God in the fulness of time; and by not a few historians of the broad school, who explain it as "the manifestation upon religious ground of that great awakening of intellectual life in Europe, which in its first phase we call the Revival of Letters."¹ And the lesson which it teaches is that "if theology in this age is to keep abreast of advancing science and to continue to answer to the inexhaustible religious wants of men, a new Reformation is needed." Such an advance towards simplicity will, we are told, remove almost all that differentiates Christianity from other religions, but thereby strengthen it. The broad principles of Christ's teaching must be those of the church that is to be;² viz.: (1) The Fatherhood of God, (2) the brotherhood of man, (3) the Kingdom of God, and (4) a future state. It was the ethical life which Christ brought that makes him Saviour.

¹ Beard, *The Reformation of the XVI Cent. in its relation to modern thought and knowledge*, London, 1883, p. 401.

² *Ib.* p. 426 f.

An extreme position in the direction of rationalism meets the Ultramontane advance of Romish superstition, asserts¹ that Luther did no good to the world nor to Germany, and hails "the refusal of the University of Oxford to take any part in the glorification of Luther, as a manifesto of the modern historic spirit." But the calmer view of advanced historic science does not belittle a man because he was also a theologian. With Döllinger, the greatest living Catholic historian, it does not hesitate to call Luther the most influential of all Germans, and with Weitz, editor of the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, it gives the Wedekind prizes for historic works of merit to Ranke, who emphasizes the pragmatic and philosophic in History, and to Köstlin, whose² Life of Luther shows the far-reaching power of a great religious genius. The recent jubilee in honor of Luther, has called forth over 1,000 books, and evinced a much deeper and more national appreciation of his work than was manifested a century ago.

§ 18. *The Lutheran Reformation.*

The work of Reform in Germany in all its relations to Luther and his time has received abundant study and illumination during the past two years; but such research being largely the investigation of details—the great persons and principles being pretty historically fixed—cannot be summed up in any degree in our narrow limits. How the current

¹ Cf. *The Westminster Review* for Jan., 1884.

² *M. Luther, Sein Leben u. seine Schriften*, 3d Aufl. Elberfeld, 1883, 2 vols.: the one vol. ed. also in English.

of better knowledge runs can, however, be traced by a few sporadic notices. We now learn that Leo X was by no means favorable to the election of Charles V to the imperial dignity, as currently stated¹. Luther's father did not leave Möhra because he happened to kill a man, neither was Luther born in Eisleben unexpectedly, for his father's home was temporarily there. He never said,

*Wer liebt nicht Wein, Weib und Gesang,
Der bleibt ein Narr sein Leben lang.*²

i. e., Who loves not wine, and wife and song,
Remains a fool his whole life long.

His correspondence included³ not only Germans of all ranks, but Christian, King of Denmark, Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII., of England, and scholars everywhere. Urban Rhegius wrote of Philip of Hesse, *Non sentit cum Zwinglio*, not *Sentit cum Zwinglio*, as given by Janssen.⁴ Recent research also shows that Philip was certainly deceived by Pack to believe that there was a league of Catholic princes against the Protestants.⁵ The peasant's war was a critical factor in the Reformation struggle. It is now known that the policy of Bavaria under Chancellor von Eck was cruel rather

¹ Cf. Baumgarten in *Forschungen z. Deutschen Geschichte*, Bd., XXIII, H. I, 1884.

² For all these and much more of the sort, cf. Kölin.

³ Cf. Kolde's *Analecta Lutherana*, Gotha, 1883, a valuable collection of 200 letters to Luther—most hitherto unpublished, and many new letters by Luther.

⁴ In his *Ultramontane Geschichte d. Deutschen Volkes, seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Bd. I-III, 12 Aufl., 1884, full of perversions of Reform. history; cf. replies by Köstlin, Ebrard, etc.

⁵ See, Schwarz, *Hist. Stud.* 1884, H. 13.

than conservative, and drove the Swabian League to violent measures instead of wisely averting revolution. His cold-blooded methods murdered the peasants to exalt the Dukes of Bavaria. He tried to make Philip of Hesse his tool, but failed, for we now see how great a man Philip was, how he perceived the importance of Zwingli, and, at the right time, restored Ulrich of Württemberg to his dukedom.¹

§ 19. *Pietism.*

We are on the way towards a just historic estimate of Pietism. It was formerly too much considered and opposed as a false doctrinal tendency; now it is, perhaps, too much regarded as simply a reformation in religious life. A middle view lays stress on both these elements, and, as recently set forth by Ritschl,² describes it as (1) a return to mediæval Christianity in advocating the ascetic piety of St. Bernard—it is monastic piety without the monasteries—and (2) an unlutheran phase of doctrine, which leads (3) into fanaticism and rationalism. And yet Arndt and Spener declared they held the Lutheran confession; while it sounds strange to hear that the *unio mystica* between Christ and the soul was not familiar to Luther. Ritschl maintains that the Reformation must be treated with broader horizon than is customary. Lechler is right (Life of Wic-

¹ Cf. Wille, *Philipp der Großmüthige u. die Restitution Ulrich's v. Württemberg*, Tübingen, 1882.

² *Geschichte des Pietismus* Bd. I, in der reform. Kirche, Bd. II in der luther. Kirche, Bonn, 1880-84. Cf. also Sachsse, *Ursprung u. Wesen des Pietismus*, Wiesbaden, 1884.

lif., Vol. I) in emphasizing (1) the reform efforts of Gregory VII, and (2) those of Francis of Assisi as the two great features in the history of the Western Church, and which, uniting in monastic reform, give the material for a wider view of the Reformation. Franciscan reform rested on the idea of the Church unmixed with the world. Joachim of Florus made this especially prominent. Such a view was taken up by Matthias of Janow, embodied afterward in action by the Bohemian Brethren, and gave rise to Pietism. It revived in Reformation days and later, as a continuance of the reforms of Luther and Zwingle. This statement of Ritschl lays stress on some overlooked historic antecedents of Pietism, but still does not satisfactorily trace the difference between the rapt devotion of Arndt, springing from a clear apprehension of Luther's doctrine of Justification by faith, and that ecstatic mediæval piety which sunk the soul in God. The further point referred to—the direct relation of Pietism and Rationalism—is important, and has received much fresh light from recent study. The common history of the rise of unbelief in Germany traces it to scepticism, imported from France and England, and a dead orthodoxy at home. That is only part of the explanation. Rationalism arose, not only as a recoil from a dead creed and inconsistent Church, but as a positive sequence of overstrained Pietism, which prepared the way by (1) undermining doctrine and church usage with its moral criticism, (2) by the undue stress which it laid upon the new birth as the only proof of Christianity, (3) by spiritual priest-

hood in conventicles, which got above and beyond confessions, and (4) by mystic communion with Christ, a principle which did away with the value of the objective and historic in religion. There seems no doubt but that the pietistic attack on orthodoxy was more fatal than that of the philosophers, Leibnitz, Wolff and their followers, since mystic devotion leads to a religion without confession, and indifferent to all church mediation, *i. e.*, just the position of the Illumination, for the "inner word" of the Pietist passed readily over into the "right reason" of the Rationalist.¹ The life of the pietist and free-thinker Dippel, is a classic illustration of all this.² Such considerations are being weighed, now as never before, with a growing recognition of the fact that the era of Pietism was an age of transition everywhere, socially, mentally, morally. A blending of mysticism and rationalism, parallel to that in Pietism, gave rise to our modern religious philosophy. The keen Giordano Bruno, offended by monkish superstitions, laid the foundations of our philosophy better even than did Des Cartes; while the profound theosophist, Jacob Böhme, taught that all philosophy has its roots in God. These currents of Italian rationalism and German mysticism met in the Portugese-Dutch, Jew-Christian Spinoza, and gave us the father, perhaps, of an impartial philosophy of religion. From him the stream flowed, of a *critical* philosophy of religion till Kant, of *intuitive* religious philosophy till Fichte, and of *spec-*

¹ Cf. *Hist. Zft.* 1884, H. 3.

² *Johan Conrad Dippel, der Freigeist aus dem lutherischen Pietismus*, von W. Bender, Bonn, 1882.

ulative religious philosophy, which has been followed by our present blending of Positivism, New Kantianism and Pessimism.¹

§ 20. *The Waldenses.*

The relation of the various sects of the Middle Ages and Reformation times, Beghards, Albigenses, "Brethren" of many kinds, Waldenses, Anabaptists, etc., is a subject still needing much investigation. A recent writer tries² to make them all Waldenses, and brings both Tauler and Staupitz within their fold. That is unhistoric and extreme; but the study involved in the attempt shows that the Waldenses were much more numerous and widespread and influential than has been hitherto supposed. Keller has discovered and Haupt has about proven³ that the antelutheran translation of the New Testament, recently published from the Codex Teplensis,⁴ of the end of the XIV Century, arose among the German Waldenses, and that the two editions which followed it sprang from the same source. The earliest German Old Testament was also Waldensian. This is a most important discovery. It shows, as always, Protestant doctrines and the Bible hand in hand. It shows Rome following reluctantly and in self-defense, for the fourth and following editions present

¹ Pfeleiderer, *Geschichte der Religionsphilosophie von Spinoza bis auf die Gegenwart*, 2te. Auf., Berlin, 1883.

² Keller, *J. von Staupitz u. das Waldenserthum*, *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 6 F. iv., p. 115.

³ *Die Deutsche Bibelübersetzung der mittelalt. Waldenser in dem Codex Teplensis n. der ersten gedruckten deutschen Bibel nachgewiesen*, Würzburg, 1885.

⁴ Augsburg, 1881-84.

the Waldensian version worked over to favor the papal church. Thus, from the time of Innocent III on, we hear in Germany, as in France, of *quosdam libros de latino in romanum versos* by "Friends of God"—i. e., the Waldenses and their companions.¹ This new knowledge explains why these first versions bear no name of publication; why the archbishop of Mayence (1486) forbade the use of the German bible, and why it was printed in the great imperial cities of Strasburg, Augsburg, Nürnberg², and not in Episcopal cities, many of which had large printing establishments. We knew already that there were seventeen German versions of the New Testament before Luther; we knew also that these were scattered for half a century by the printing press through the land in thousands; and now we know that the founders of that work were not Romish priests, as is often claimed, but the humble Protestants whom we call Waldenses.³

§ 21. *The Roman Catholic Church.*

In 1883 the Protestant world celebrated the four hundredth birthday of Luther; when the Roman Church also wished to give her opinion of the Reformation. Leo XIII had already opened the Vatican library "for the good of religion and science, and to refute the historic lies of the enemies of the church." It was announced that a bombshell would be thrown

¹ Cf. Berger, *La Bible française au moyen âge*, Paris, 1884.

² *Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1885, No. 27. On the general subject, cf. also Keller, *Die Reformation u. die älteren Reformparteien*, Leipzig, 1885.

³ Joste's work makes Dr. Schaff doubt this: cf. *The Independent*, Oct. 8, 1885.

into the midst of triumphant Protestantism, which would overturn Luther and exalt the infallible church. It came in Balan's *Monumenta Reformationis Lutheranae*,¹ containing the original despatches which Aleander sent to Rome about the diet of Worms and Luther, the replies of Vice-Chancellor Medici, letters, decisions of the council, etc. Protestant research was likewise at work on the same subject, and Brieger has given² a more critical and better arranged grouping of the same sources. From this valuable publication we see, as never before, that the papal authorities had no idea of the extent of the dissatisfaction in Germany when the Diet met. Aleander describes Luther as a poor, obscure monk, and his influence as insignificant. The speeches, the letters—all show that the infallible church had no proper conception of Luther or the movement which he led. Balan's book was a painful surprise, and so shocked the Ultramontanes that it was quickly put out of sight and the author quietly ignored. It is full of side-lights which fall unpleasantly upon Roman eyes. Luther was first to be brought by an imperial courier; then a herald was to bear him a summons; finally he was respectfully invited as *Nobilis devote nobis delecte*. His appearance is vividly described; when he entered the council the second time he raised his hand on high, "after the manner of German soldiers." The emperor signed the edict against him "with pleasure and merry mood, and that in church surrounded by cardinals and princes." Ale-

¹ Ratisbon, 1883-4.

² *Quellen u. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Reformation.* I Aleander u. Luther, 1521, Gotha, 1884.

ander could not sleep for joy. Campeggio thought the reform agitation sprang from love of novelty and desire to shake off authority. Aleander, as the years went by, got a little more light, though his zeal remained dark as before. In 1515 he said: "Germany is—unlike France and Italy—moved solely by love of truth to ever undertake new investigations; while living in Spartan poverty, she labors for the general good of all nations." In 1520 he continued: "In Germany the wise men prefer the windy blossoms of heathenism to the sweet fruits of Christianity. They are a pedantic lot of grammarians and poetasters, who think they appear especially learned when they declare they can go no further with the church." But years later he said: "First of all, we must improve our mode of life, for times have changed, and the mind of the people is different. New laws avail nothing; neither do bulls and bans."¹ Rome, however, seems to be *semper eadem* in error as in truth; and while she forgets nothing, she learns very little. No more terrible illustration of her enmity to intellectual and religious liberty can be found than in the array of ignorance, narrowness and blundering which fills the index of forbidden books. For the first time, we now possess² this work in true historic setting—1,900 pages of titles and notices of writings condemned during three hundred years by a clique of priests in the name of an infallible church. It opposed books of the Ref-

¹ For Reform councils, cf. Creighton, *A history of the Papacy during the period of the Reformation*, two vols., 1882—the best English book on the subject.

² Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, I Bd., II Bd., I u. 2. Abth. Bonn, 1883-85.

ormation; it fought Protestantism, and free tendencies in the Romish church in the XVII and XVIII centuries; it condemned all rationalistic works of later times, and still sits—the toothless old man—snapping at the pilgrims on the king's highway of free thought.

Destruction of life is the other side of destruction of liberty. In Protestant lands Rome denies the killing of heretics. Recent research¹ refutes one more such denial by making the Irish massacre of Protestants, 1641–42, more closely identified with Romanism than was before known. From the manuscript testimony of eye-witnesses, preserved in legal archives, we learn that Sir Phelim O'Neill did not have the king's command for his murderous work; it was jealousy of Scotch immigrants, but most of all hatred of their faith that slew young and old, the mother and her babe, in the name of Christ and his church. Such things have been and such things will be wherever Rome has full power. Leo XIII tells us that the Reformation was "the insane war which has been carried on since the sixteenth century by the moderns against the Catholic Church," and that Protestant missionaries "spread the rule of the prince of darkness." The powers that rule in Rome are still ignorant of Protestant life and the lessons of history. The Old Catholic bishop Reinikens says,² "You can scarcely form an idea of the extent to which among the Roman Catholic clergy, even the well educated, every sense of historic truth

¹ Hickson, *Ireland in the XVIIth Century*, London, 1883.

² *Deutsche-evangelische Blätter*, 1885, H. 4.

has vanished under the false treatment of history at the hands of the papacy." It is a lie, they say, that there was a Renaissance in the fifteenth century; that Luther rescued the Bible from oblivion; that reform was needed in head and members; that Protestantism brought liberty and rights of conscience.¹ The Old Catholic movement shows afresh the irreformability of Rome under a Jesuit infallibility system.² The reaction, political and religious, which restored Pius VII (1814), has run with full current toward papal apotheosis. Cardinal college, Index, Inquisition, were all at once replaced; all political books were forbidden, and 724 cases of heresy brought to trial.

The pope declared Bible Societies "a plague, ungodly machinations of moderns, a crafty invention to undermine the foundations of religion, a new kind of tares sown by the enemy." The Jesuit order was at once restored, advantageous concordats made with the nations, and the Papal State brought to power for tyranny and lust. Pius IX promoted growth along these lines; and Leo XIII has proclaimed (1879) Thomas Aquinas, the doctor of infallibility, the teacher for the youth of the

¹ Cf. *Geschichtslügen*, von drei Freunden der Wahrheit (R. C.) Paderborn, 1884. The historian Kraus, one of the few somewhat just students, has had to recall the second edition of his Church History, and have the third edition purged of its anti-infallibility portions before publication. The Vatican tone pervades Nirschl's *Lehrbuch der Patrologie u. Patristik*, 2 Bde. Mainz, 1881-85 (to VII cent.); the Old Catholic occurs in Langen's *Geschichte der römischen Kirche von Leo I bis Nikolaus I*, Bd. II, Bonn, 1884.

² Cf. Scarth, *The Story of the Old Catholic and Kindred Movements*, London, 1883; and Friedrich, the Old Catholic historian's, *Geschichte des Vatik. Concils*, Bd. I, Vorgeschichte, 1877; Bd. II, Ges. des Concils, Bonn, 1883.

church. Papal Cæsarism may be digging its own grave, as did the divine Cæsars of old, but one thing is certain, no living ruler claims or exercises such authority as does the present pope.¹

§ 22. *The Anabaptists.*

How the fanatical prophets of Zwickau appeared to their orthodox brethren in Reformation days we can now see from "the oldest account of the Zwickau prophets."² The description runs: "Some doubt if the faith of godparents is of any benefit to the child in baptism, while some suppose they can be saved by baptism; some declare that the Divine Word cannot teach men, for man must be taught through the Spirit, for had God wished to teach men by Scripture, He would have sent us a Bible from Heaven; neither are we to pray for the dead, and other shocking errors." The report, two pages long, was signed by three priests, two magistrates, and two citizens, and addressed to the Elector for help. This sect spread more rapidly than most students suppose,³ and contained much that was good, as we learn from such a man as John Denck, whom neither Romanism nor Lutheranism could satisfy. He battled for brotherly love, for separation of church and state, and for private liberty. This movement was active in Italy, Venice being an important centre.

¹ Cf. the valuable work of Nippold, *Handbuch der neuesten Kirchengeschichte*, Bd. II, Geschichte des Katholizismus seit der Restauration des Papstthums, Elberfeld, 1883.

² Kolde, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, V, p. 323.

³ Cf. Haupt, *Die relig. Sekten in Franken vor der Reformation*: 1882.

From the archives of the Inquisition it is now seen¹ that by 1550 there were here numerous societies and a firm organization. Camillo Renato, "a Calvinistic quaker," travelled and preached. A certain Tiziano (1547) taught the inner light as far as Switzerland, until Rome said the whole of Italy was affected. Pietro Manelfi, a priest, taught by Ochino, was an active Anabaptist, then recanted, told the Inquisition all, and caused the death of many of the sect. At a synod in Venice (1550) sixty delegates were present from Italy, Switzerland, Graubünden, etc. Manelfi gives ten points of doctrine, which they accepted: (1) Christ is not God, but man, though full of divine power. (2) Mary had other children. (3) There are no angels, but servants, i.e. men sent by God. (4) There is no devil but the carnal mind. (5) The ungodly will not rise at the last day, but only the elect. (6) There is no hell but the grave. (7) When the elect die they sleep till the judgment, when they rise. (8) The souls of the wicked perish with their bodies. (9) Human seed has the power of God to produce flesh and spirit. (10) The elect are justified through God's eternal mercy and love, without external works, e. g. the blood and death of Christ. Christ died to show the justice of God, by which we mean the climax of all God's goodness and mercy and promises. These were the views of the extreme party. The more moderate followed the Reformed doctrines, except in the matter of baptism. There was also a middle group. The persecution which followed

¹ Benrath, *Wiedertäufer im Venetianischen um die Mitte des XVI Jahrh.* St. u. Krit., 1885, H. 1.

them drove many to Switzerland, Germany and even England. By the end of the century they were extinct in Italy. The classic soil for this sect was Moravia, where it flourished till 1622, when driven into Hungary, Poland and Russia. This part of the history is also receiving fresh illumination.¹

§ 23. Unitarianism.

The latest study has brought Unitarianism into very close fellowship with the early Anabaptists. Kurtz says:² "The first assailants of the doctrine of the trinity arose among the German Anabaptists, *e. g.* Denck (d. 1527), but the home of this opposition was Italy." In the XVI century the germs appear in Spain, Italy, Germany; in the XVII it is found in England; in the XVIII century it is in full bloom there. Did it come from a Latin or a German source to us? Bonet-Maury has just published a book in reply to this question.³ He traces it to Spanish and Italian refugees in England. It was not an English product; neither did Anabaptist Unitarians, who came to Britain, *e. g.* George Van Parris, who was burnt as a heretic, plant it; "the dogma of the Divine unipersonality is a conception formed by certain Spanish and Italian Protestants,

¹ Cf. Beck, *Die Geschichtsbücher der Wiedestäuffer in Oesterreich-Ungarn, betreffend deren Schicksale in der Schweiz, Salzburg, Oesterreich, Mähren, Tirol, Böhmen, Süddeutschland, etc.*, Wien, 1883.

² K. G. 9 Aufl. § 148.

³ English Version, *Early Sources of English Unitarian Christianity*, London, 1884. For American Unitarianism—Puritan, transcendental, finally, theistic to agnostic—See Goblet d' Alviella, *Evolution religieuse contemporaine chez les Anglais, les Américains et les Hindous*, 1883. English, New York, 1885.

and introduced by them into the Strangers' Church in London towards the middle of the sixteenth century." The Spaniards, Miguel Serveto and Juan de Valdés, awakened the theological mind in Italy, and influenced the Franciscan Ochino and Vermigli, Acontius and the Sozzini. These men and their Anabaptist Unitarian followers went as exiles to Geneva and London, where Ochino was pastor of the Italians of the Strangers' Church, and Vermigli (Peter Martyr) became professor at Oxford. In this Strangers' Church the Unitarians formulated their distinctive belief, Acontius being theological leader. Lelio Sozzini was a pupil of Ochino. Fausto Sozzini developed his views and spread them widely. In England these teachings were deepened by Bidle, Milton, Newton and Locke; later by Lardner and Priestly, reaching "more complete expression in the Unitarian Christianity of Channing and Theodore Parker,"—certainly very different expressions. Thus Italian rationalism and Teutonic mysticism blend in Anglo-Saxon free theology, we are told, to give the proper mean between Lutheran and Zwinglio-Calvinian extremes. While Maury does not make it certain that the new movement was exclusively of Latin origin, he sheds much light on the by-paths of early Reform efforts. We may add that the higher form of this development—American Unitarianism, represented by such men as Channing, Ezra Abbot and J. Freeman Clarke—seems to incline more towards orthodoxy, while the English branch, of Martineau and Greg, tends more towards mere Theism.

§ 24. *The Modern German Church.*

The common view of the conservative Lutheran party in the German church has been that they were advocating the creed and practice of Luther; that the Old Lutherans were alone genuine, and that their sufferings were true martyrdom. But a work has appeared recently,¹ based on thorough archive research, which has set conservative theologians in a ferment, and put scores of replying pens in motion; for it makes pretty evident the following new facts: The Elector—Johann Sigismund—opposed Lutheranism (1614 f.) because he regarded Calvinism as the completed Reformation, and Paul Gerhardt opposed him so bitterly because the very existence of Lutheranism was at stake. It was not, then, a question of simple tolerance of the Reformed confession. The Elector's change of creed arose not from statecraft, but from conviction. His successors, especially the Great Elector, carried out his policy, modified, giving equal rights to both churches, and laying the foundation of the present union. In that relation of co-operation and mutual recognition, the genuine historic church of Luther remained for two centuries. The Old Lutheran secession, and the present New Lutheranism, are departures from the faith and methods of Luther, are introducing divisions, and rending the once united Lutheran Church into fragments. Gerhardt's letters show he would not recognize a Reformed brother as a Christian, and called the Books of Concord "a heavenly divine, holy con-

¹ Wangemann, *Die lutherische Kirche der Gegenwart in ihrem Verhältniss zur Una Sancta*, Bde. 3, 1883-4, Berlin.

fession." That error was outlived and buried, but is now revived and spreading. Further errors are corrected: (1) It is not true that the non-admission of Reformed to the Lutheran Lord's-table rests on the general custom of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or on the unanimous decision of theological Faculties; (2) the idea of Delitzsch and Von Zezschwitz, that the Lord's Supper belongs to the confessional church, is supported neither by history nor Lutheran usage of the sixteenth century, nor by the oldest Lutheran theologians—the old theory made it simply a matter of good order; (3) the New Lutheranism is heretical in teaching (*a*) the separation of Church and State; (*b*) the docetic doctrine that Christ's body was always glorified; (*c*) that this glorified body is in the Lord's Supper, and received not morally, but physically; (*d*) that the Church is the glorious body of Christ which takes form in man only by enjoying the glorified body of Christ in the Lord's Supper, and not also through faith and baptism; (*e*) and that the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper takes place not by his Almighty power, but through the blessing of the minister. All this sacramentarian exclusiveness is shown to be unlutheran and unchristian, and the leaders are simply deceiving the people when they preach such doctrines, and then urge their flocks to fight for the good old way of the fathers. In these *Discussions*, last year, the ecclesiasticism of the conservative Lutherans was pointed out¹ in a way which provoked some criticism; it is, therefore, gratifying to find the views then ex-

¹ Vol. II., p. 142 ff.

pressed more than corroborated by the elaborate research of Wangemann.

§ 25. *The English Churches.*

The recent Church History of England has been well set forth by Stoughton.¹ Up to 1830 there was a strong orthodox, anticalvinistic tendency in the Episcopal Church (Hare, Parr, Arnold, Faber, Whately, Milman, etc.) which dreaded excitement, and was often content with a high morality. Another party, narrow but deep, the Evangelical (Newton and Cecil, the leaders), were Biblical rather than systematic theologians (Leigh Richmond, Simeon, T. Scott). The first supported the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* and the *Society for Propagating the Gospel*; the second started the *Church Missionary Society*, which had to send to Germany for missionaries till 1815. About 1830 the sacerdotal consciousness awoke with crosier, confession and absolution, the Romish tendency appearing with the Rationalistic activity in Oxford, where theological study was in a deplorable state. Reaction from Blanco White and his school gave Keble, H. Froude, Newman. Protestantism led to unbelief; therefore Anglocatholicism must be the remedy. German thought, too, was now at work in England (Kant, Schleiermacher, Strauss); Thomas Erskine and Coleridge also led along pietistic-rationalistic ways toward Latitudinarianism. The Dissenters were in the drift much earlier. The Presbyterians

¹ *Religion in England from 1800 to 1850*, two vols., London, 1884.

divided into Arians and Socinians, then, still floating, they called themselves Unitarians, receiving full civil liberty, 1812. The Independents were conservative against both Arians and Arminians, but felt after more union, and took the name of Congregationalists. Less cultured than the Presbyterians, they had more piety and zeal. (Jay, Foster, Home Missionary Society 1819; Morrison and Williams, missionaries.) The Baptists went through the hypercalvinistic controversy (A. Fuller) and the communion controversy, in which Robert Hall defended a free Lord's Table.

The Wesleyan Methodists became Arminian in theology, and, under Coke, had thirty' foreign missions in 1800. Watson was their theologian, and Bunting their mission organizer.

In 1846 Newman went over to Rome, followed by 100 clergymen, in decreasing numbers. In 1851 there were ninety conversions to Romanism; in 1860 but six. During the past forty years Protestants in Britain have increased 9,643,454, while Roman Catholics have decreased 1,762,883.¹ In 1850 Ritualism clothed Anglocatholic ideas in worship looking Romewards. Now arose a school of Broad Churchmen, neither old orthodox, evangelical nor Anglocatholic, differing much among themselves, but one in rejecting Calvinism, preferring Christian life to church authority, sometimes rationalistic, always earnest. (Maurice, Kingsley, Stanley, F. Robertson.) Maurice was a leader in this freer air and

¹ Cf. Croskery, *Conversions to Romanism*, Presbyterian Review, April, 1885.

brotherhood.¹ He opposed Tractarianism, wrote his theological essays against Unitarians with such sympathy that he lost his professorship under charge of Socinianism, was transferred to Cambridge, and labored with his friend Kingsley as a Christian Socialist among the working classes—his life being a free religious history of England during its course. All these tendencies are now blended in Britain. The gospel is preached by very different schools. A broader Bible study is prevalent. The conflict between religion and science is less bitter, and the wisest men feel more and more the unity of underlying truth.

§ 26. *The Churches of America.*

In the field of general historic research the American scholar is greatly handicapped by the sources of his study—MSS., monuments, archive treasures of all sorts—being almost entirely in Europe. The literature quoted in this survey shows how largely new results in our department fall first to the lot of our fellow-workers in the old world, especially to German scholars. But in the later history, where the disparity is less, students from the West are examining the past with a skill and patience worthy of general recognition. New light has just been thrown upon the rise of American Presbyterianism.² Until 1770 Scotch and Irish Presbyterians worked heartily with English Puritans in their new home.

¹ Cf. *The Life of F. D. Maurice*, chiefly told in his own letters, edited by his son, Fred. Maurice, two vols., London, 1884.

² Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, New York, 1885.

There was no imported classical presbytery; but out of the free semi-congregational conglomerate grew naturally, and as a native product, American Presbyterianism. The Synod, formed 1717, did not feel the need of affirming belief in a Confession till 1729, when it feared English Unitarianism. From a letter of John Eliot, here given for the first time, we see that he believed in local, provincial, national and ecumenical councils of churches; but these were "for Mutual Help," and none had "juridical power." The latest study shows us that American Presbyterianism followed the outgrowth of this polity more than has hitherto been taught.

The Methodist and Episcopal churches of this country have just published their centenary histories.¹ A preliminary study reminds us that Wesley's spiritual father was a Moravian, and that Methodism in religious apprehension and modes of work was influenced by the German pietists.² The story of the Episcopal church fills a gap in our literature, and turns attention to a much neglected field. The poetry and enthusiasm gather about the Pilgrims and their sturdy Congregational faith; but for Tories and Churchmen, with their loyalty to a king on earth and in heaven, and a worship sometimes formal, but often fostering unsurpassed devotion and sweet

¹ *American Methodism*, by John Atkinson, N. Y., 1884.

The history of the American Episcopal Church, 1587-1883. 2 vols. Editor-in-Chief Bishop Perry, Iowa. Boston, 1884. A valuable collection of information, with illustrations and maps.

² *The Conversion of J. Wesley and his indebtedness to M. Luther*, in *Lutheran Quarterly*, 1884, No. 4.

charity, we have too long had neither time nor sympathy.¹

One rich stream of religious immigration to America remains to be noticed—the Huguenots. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) drove these Protestants to the United States, as earlier troubles sent them to Nova Scotia, Canada and the West Indies. This former movement we can now for the first time trace.²

When religious liberty was withdrawn in Canada, the Huguenots swarmed towards the free English colonies, to New York (1623) and beyond; Waldenses to Delaware (1657); from the West Indies they came to New York from 1686 onwards. Many came from the province of Aunis, about Rochelle; the Faneuils, the Sigourneys, the Roberts, Allaires, Baudoins (Bowdoin), Bernons, etc., had their homes there, but were driven to America and gave us Faneuil Hall and Robert College, and all the blessings of a godly race.

§ 27. *Conclusion.*

The kingdom of God on earth is not declining; but growing in extent and holiness as never before. Christianity, the great missionary religion, has thrown Buddhism and Mohammedanism out of the race, and is encircling the globe.³ It meets the de-

¹ For valuable information on the American Churches, cf. Schaff's *Religious Encyclopædia*, 3 vols., New York, 1884.

² C. W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, New York, 1885, 2 vols.

³ Cf. Young, *Modern Missions, their Trials and Triumphs*. London, 1883.

mands of the highest culture as of the deepest barbarism.¹ Its purest forms are gaining upon the less pure²—the Protestant upon the Roman Catholic,—and the evangelistic doctrines manifesting themselves as living and life-giving beyond any naturalistic or rationalistic mixture presented in their stead.

The plan of God's kingdom is the philosophy of history. The march of events is only rational when towards a fixed goal; and that goal is the fulfillment of the amazing prophecy on which Christ staked his Messianic claims, "This gospel shall be preached in all the world;" and "The Son of man shall send his angels and gather his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other."

¹ Warneck, *Modern Missions and Culture*, translated by T. Smith, Edinburgh, 1883.

² Dorchester, *Problem of Religious Progress*, 1883.

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

CHRISTIAN DOGMATICS,
APOLOGETICS AND MORALS.

BY

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SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

Recent theological discussion has been less concentrated than it was two and three years ago. We are obliged to look over a broader field and notice works less ambitious in their aim than those to which we have before given attention. We do not, however, attempt to notice those which are not of general interest. We call attention to one systematic treatise upon theology, and to several works upon special topics.

SYSTEM OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY.—HENRY B. SMITH.¹

The last volume of CURRENT DISCUSSIONS had hardly come from the press, when this work appeared. A kind of fascination has been connected with the name of Professor Smith. His tendency, early manifested, to philosophical and theological studies, his familiarity with foreign institutions of learning and with German thought, his success as a teacher of metaphysics, of church history and systematic theology, his acute and learned articles published in the Reviews, wakened a very general desire to see a full statement of his views of theology. Hence the work before us has been looked for with

¹ New York, A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1884. Edited by W. S. Karr, D.D.

a good deal of interest. It was understood, indeed, that he had not prepared his lectures for the press, but it was assumed that the notes of students who had listened to him, and his own papers, with hints from his published essays, would, under the able editorship of a favorite pupil, Professor Karr, fairly, and with a good degree of fulness, represent the thoughts of this distinguished instructor in the Union Theological Seminary. The public expectation has, we think, been very fairly realized. If Professor Smith had set himself to erect a monument to his own memory by presenting to the world his system of divinity, he probably would not have given the structure just the form which the present work bears. It contains three great divisions; first, Antecedents of Redemption; second, The Redemption Itself: The Person and Work of Christ; third, The Kingdom of Redemption. The first division contains 335 pages, the second 147, the third 131. Such a proportion of parts suggests polemic, rather than systematic or exegetical theology. God and his attributes, theodicy and providence, virtue and sin, are the themes which expand under the lecturer's hand, call out the questions of pupils, and present theories to be reviewed and refuted. Yet most theologians, certainly professors of Christian theology, would prefer writing instructive and effective treatises upon Christ and the atonement to entering into discussions upon natural theology and anthropology. Each division is treated, however, with such fulness as to enable the reader to know the matter and method of the author's thought.

It is worth noticing at the outset that one is favorably inclined towards Professor Smith because of his habit of lingering over, and recurring to, evangelical topics, especially those which are of a profound and of a deeply practical nature. Ethical considerations have great weight with him; he insists on their importance, though their logical force may not be susceptible of exact measurement; he finds in the incarnation a theme that commands his admiration, that moves his deepest affections. The church is an object that wins at once his attachment and his reverence; he sees in it a living force, a manifestation of divine wisdom, power and love; the state of the redeemed soul, its union with Christ by faith, its life through the energizing of the Holy Spirit, are topics on which it was easy and delightful for him to dwell with prolonged contemplation. He did not empty them of their meaning in order to be rid of their mystery; he held to a communion with God in redemption, which rationalizing teachers have sometimes stigmatized as mysticism, sometimes as nonsense.

This work, published several years after the author's death, treats of some themes which have acquired new interest since Professor Smith ceased from his labors, and for this reason deserves more than a casual mention. Some who avow themselves adherents of a new departure in theology have claimed him as a leader in their movements; have expressed the belief that his theology would furnish a basis for their views. We select for presentation a few of his opinions bearing on this point, and a few exhibiting his relation to the New England theology.

1. *The Relation of his Views to the New Theology.*1. *Theodicy.*

He makes some statements concerning the permission of evil, which, at first glance, would seem to indicate an affinity for the new theology, but he is not here sufficiently positive to be considered a supporter of any theory.

"The true position is that we do not know the ultimate or metaphysical reason why God allows sin to exist, and so cannot give a theoretical solution of the problem before us, while yet the Christian system gives a sufficient practical solution, so that they are without excuse who reject the redemption of Christ."² "The full Theodicy could be known only by knowing the universe; for evil began in angelic natures, and has its full issue only in eternity. This would give us but a part, the Theodicy is to be framed, with reserves and suspense of judgment as to what is ultimate; but so far as we do frame it, we are to avoid naturalistic grounds, and put ourselves on the basis of the redemptive scheme. The problem of evil brings us and leaves us face to face with the offer of Redemption, and that is the most we can do with it; to make opposers concede that the existence of sin is explained as far as may be in the Redemption, and then ask them themselves to taste and see that the Lord is gracious."³

2. *No Second Probation.*

He finds in the Bible no warrant for holding to an intermediate state between death and the resurrection, in which the destiny of the impenitent is to

¹ P. 605.² P. 153.³ P. 157.

be decided. He interprets I Peter iii:18-21, as teaching that Christ has been continually preaching in the spirit. "The object of the passage is, to connect the two facts that Christ, the Being who is now put to death in the flesh and quickened in the spirit; by that same spirit has been always preaching. He preached even in the days of Noah." The author is not, indeed, very tenacious of his views, but adds: "Even if this other interpretation [preaching to the spirits in Hades] were allowed, all that could be got from it would be merely a proclamation of truth to them without any mention of its effect."¹

3. *Sin, Guilt, Condemnation.*

Professor Smith does not maintain that rejection of Christ is the only sin that merits or that receives condemnation. He does teach that original sin is not punishable, but implies that all positive transgression is not only ill-deserving but actually punished, to some extent, in this life, and that the punishment continues into the future.

Infants he seems to except from final condemnation, but not those who have been deliberately disobedient to the divine commands. "This second death or final condemnation is represented in Scripture as inflicted only in view of actual transgression, and it is there represented not only as punishment for violation of law, but also for the rejection of the gospel. There is a liability or exposedness to it in all the members of Adam's race, but the reality of it comes only to those who are condemned on ac-

¹ P. 605.

count of their works, James i:15, Rom. vi:51, vii:6, I John v:16. . . . We cannot conceive of an element in the eternal penalty, of which there is not an analogy or beginning in our temporal lot."¹ That he considered transgression of law an adequate ground of condemnation is clear from a remark he makes concerning the incarnation. "The Incarnation was not needed by God, but for man. It was a free act of condescension and grace on God's part. We cannot say that Redemption could have been secured in any other method. Though a free act on God's part, and of grace, we know not but that such an act was necessary, both physically and morally, if man was to be redeemed. God might have left man to perish, and justly: but, if he would save man, it may be that there is no other way than through an Incarnation."²

4. *The Judgment.*

His brief remarks concerning the last judgment seem decisive as to the position he would have taken towards what is sometimes called Dornerism. "This judgment is not the first passing of judgment, but the final manifestation of it. It is the end of a mediatorial kingdom, the consummation of an economy. The position that at the Judgment the first passing of judgment will occur, uproots the scriptural doctrine of sin and of the penalty of death, which has already begun to be inflicted upon man."³

¹ P. 258.

² P. 196.

³ P. 613.

II. *Relation of his Theology to that of New England.*

Professor Smith's familiarity with New England thought exercised a marked influence on his theological speculations. In his treatment of anthropology he constantly shows the effect of the writings of Dr. N. W. Taylor.

1. *Ability and Responsibility.*

He bases the condemnation of the sinner upon his ability; he would not, with some of his own denomination, say, that a person of bad character is to be condemned simply on the ground of the *quality* of his character, without any regard to the source from which it is derived. He rejected, however, the doctrine of "power to the contrary," and did not find in man's responsibility for his character evidence that any one ever will, of himself, turn from sin to holiness. He considered the distinction between natural and moral inability an important one. He says: "It [the exhortation: Make to yourself a new heart] is within the possible extent of man's actual capacities. It is no more than what his capacities may reach unto. It is within the compass of natural ability, using natural ability in the sense of the possible extent of man's natural capacities—not as what the will of man itself may do without the other faculties, not as power to the contrary, but what is in the possibility, as to extent, of man's constitution and faculties."¹

¹ P. 568.

"Why we assert natural ability: Otherwise there is no obligation, nor even possibility of change of character."¹

As he affirms a natural ability to obey God and live a holy life, he also affirms a natural ability to accept the offers of salvation. Among the marks of sincerity in any offer he places the following: "That it is offered on terms that can be complied with by the individual to whom it is offered, so that all that is needed on his part is willingness."²

In summing up his discussion of ability, the author uses the following language: "Man has all the powers, perfectly so, which are necessary to moral agency." "He has the ability in will as the power of choice, to accept or reject the grace offered to him, to obey or disobey the calls,—has the efficiency, though not the sufficiency." "He is under obligation to immediate repentance: he ought at once to repent and turn to God."

2. *Ability and Grace.*

While Professor Smith thus positively teaches natural ability, and founds man's responsibility upon it, he is continually appending to his statements such qualifications or counter-statements as to show that he does not rest upon it, taken by itself, as a firm foundation. Some of his appendices appear in quotations already made. In the summary from which the last citations were made, one item is: "Under the offer of the gospel and the command of God, he may comply; no man can say that he has not enough

¹ P. 332.

² P. 514.

of the influences." Did he mean that *influences* add power? He says, again: "The exhortation [Make to yourself a new heart] does not assert or imply that the sinner can comply without divine grace. It no more implies that a sinner can do this without divine grace than that a Christian can."¹ "The *practicability of immediate repentance* cannot be urged on any other ground than the two conjoined: power of choice and grace offered."² "All concede that it is necessary to preach both, in order to make a right impression—both certainty and free agency; now, if it is necessary to preach both, neither is true by itself alone, neither is true in an abstract statement about it, made without respect to the other; no definition of either can be correct which is not made with respect to the other, in view of it, and as balanced by it. An abstract metaphysical inability and an abstract metaphysical ability are both false."³ The certainty spoken of in the last quotation is that of regeneration on the ground of God's purpose, so that the metaphysical ability there set down as false is in another place accepted as theoretically true. "This position [that a sinful, depraved being can repent without grace] sunders, in form of statement, what is always united in fact, viz: the divine and human co-working in all our religious acts. Here the two factors are sundered, and then the result is supposed to be achieved by one. In actual human experience, there never has been such a state as religion without grace. Those who take the bold ground here do it in precisely the same sense in

¹ P. 570.² P. 535.³ P. 327.

which they say that God can sin. The doctrine of power to the contrary is applied in a parallel way in the two cases. And we suppose it is just as true that a man can repent without grace as that God can sin, and no more true. It is a bare metaphysical possibility given in the power of choosing."

3. *The Kinds and Nature of Grace.*

Our author apparently considered common grace and effectual grace alike in kind, common grace being a kind of gracious ability, and effectual grace an intensification of it. He says: "The influence of the Holy Spirit is much wider than we are apt to suppose. Probably there is always more or less influence of the Spirit by and with the word. Belief in such common grace is the strength and confidence of the preacher, and it is very probable that all moral good in the world is ultimately to be ascribed to this, even in the lower spheres of humanity—*i. e.*, to the influence of God's grace in the course of his providence. It is much more scriptural and much safer to extend the sphere of the Spirit's influence than to extend the scope of human ability. . . . This grace passes into effectual grace in proportion as the sinner yields to the divine influence."¹ It is certainly a novel idea that the sinner's yielding changes the character of grace; and if a proportion of yielding implies a proportion of resistance, it is difficult to reconcile the above statement with the following, found upon the next page: "This effectual grace is irresistible in the sense that it carries the will and

¹ P. 520.

affections with it. No counter influence is supposable in the case, because what it does is to engross the affections and change the will."

4. *The Atonement.*

Professor Smith's view of the atonement is of kin to that taught in New England. He teaches the doctrine of substitution, but rejects the doctrine that the atonement consists in satisfaction to distributive justice (which he makes subordinate to general justice¹), and teaches that it consists in satisfaction to public justice—not public justice considered as benevolence, but considered as holiness, or the disposition to secure those ends which the law requires.

On the extent of the atonement he is wholly of the New England view—*i. e.*, he holds to a general atonement, which he thus defines: "The atonement made by Christ is made for all mankind—*i. e.* such in nature *and design* that God can save all men, consistently with the demands of holiness, on condition of faith and repentance."² In explanation, he says that the atonement, as such, does not save any; that it was not designed to be applied to all, but is sufficient to save all, and is the ground on which salvation is offered to all.

5. *The State of Grace.*

Professor Smith is quite at variance with the later New England theology—not the latest, it may be—on the state of grace. He makes the blessedness of the believer to be union with Christ. On this point he rejects all rationalistic tendencies, whether

¹ P. 442.

² P. 478.

connected with regeneration or with justification. "Universalism is not in it [the atonement], for the simple reason that it makes union with Christ necessary to salvation."¹ "Regeneration is grounded in our union with Christ. The giving of new life is grounded in the incarnation and atonement."² On the question, how Christ can be our justification, he says: "We are justified by what He did in, and in view of, a constituted relation to us. The doctrine of union with Christ is fundamental as to the mode in which He can be the ground of our justification."³ After quoting from the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, he says: "This is the mystical union in the Calvinistic sense; it is found similarly expressed in other confessions of the Reformation. It is something real, and not a mere figure—as real as the union between the branch and the vine. Though the branch and the vine be only a figure, yet the fact illustrated by the figure is not figurative." "Now, as in the family, there is a union of members, parents and children, so that all have the same liabilities, on the ground of union; as in the race having its headship in Adam there is a union, with the same liabilities, so in our union to Christ, through love and faith, a like union is implied. . . . It is a vital personal union—mystical, because it cannot be further defined than as a fact, and by the consequent benefits."⁴

Professor Smith has not shown himself, in the volume before us, an organizer of thought. One does not feel, in reading him, a strong current of

¹ P. 477.² P. 476³ P. 531.⁴ P. 535.

mental force moving towards a definite object. Whoever will read a chapter in this work and then a chapter in some one of Edwards' more marked essays will, by the contrast, understand what we are aiming to express. Our author acts as a guide pointing out the various topics of interest in theology, rather than as a builder who constructs an edifice of his own. Yet he is a master of the topics he presents; he gives them as *he* understands them, he weighs and measures for himself, and describes things according to his own judgment of them. It is not to be supposed his work is of less value because it is scholarly rather than original. Original works are generally narrow. The one before us takes a broad range, is suggestive, is everywhere instructive. It is not an exhaustive treatment of any one theme; it is an array of the best thoughts of an acute, studious, contemplative lover of theology upon the chief topics of interest in that science.

PROFESSOR PARK'S SERMONS.

The discourses of Professor Park, recently published, treat of some of the most important theological themes.¹ His former pupils, who have carried them in memory for twenty or thirty years, will find that they have lost nothing of their logical force by being transferred to the printed page. Many of the passages will call up before them the preacher with his overmastering eloquence, when he transformed fleeting moments of our lives into an

¹ *Discourses on some Theological Doctrines as related to the Religious Character*, by Edwards A. Park, D.D. Andover, Warren F. Draper, 1885.

eternal possession. It has not, however, been the aim of the author to bring forward any special topic for discussion, and the volume will be more fitly noticed in another department.

EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY.

The evidences of Christianity are always under discussion. There is no special reason for noticing the topic at length the present year, yet we would gladly give it more attention than our space will permit. If works written in defense of Christianity are not numerous, attacks upon it come from every quarter. Astronomy, geology, comparative anatomy, philosophy and even Biblical criticism all furnish popular lecturers with weapons against the church's faith in Christ. It is to the credit of our Christian thinkers that there has been no spasm of zeal to reply to the assaults upon our religion. Still the time will come when a calm survey of the field should take place. In the mean time valuable lectures and addresses are from time to time published in support of some particular doctrine, in exposition of some peculiar method of argumentation, or repelling some special onset.

The recent work¹ on Christian evidence by Dr. R. S. Storrs is an exposition of the argument afforded by the effects of Christianity. It consists of ten lectures to the students of Union Theological Seminary on "The Ely Foundation," also delivered before the Lowell Institute in Boston, and an appendix, nearly equal in the amount of matter, to the lec-

¹ *The Divine Origin of Christianity Indicated by its Historical Effects.* New York, A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

tures themselves. The treatise is one worthy of high commendation on several grounds. As a mine of historical information it repays careful study; in clearness and force of statement, combined with brilliancy of illustration, it seems to us unequalled; no opponent of Christianity will deny its perfect candor and fairness; but we value it chiefly for this, that it is an appeal to the common sense of men. It affirms, of course, that Christianity can be adequately known only through an experience of the new life, but it affirms—a point of late foolishly disregarded, if not denied, by Christian apologists—that the Christian system lays every one under obligation to recognize its super-human origin. "Have not the facts already outlined been sufficient, at least, to justify the thought with which I commenced; that enough is apparent in this track of inquiry to warrant, to demand from every one the most careful and earnest study of Christianity in its characteristic and vital contents, as probably from God?"¹ The irresistible force of Dr. Storrs' argument may be seen in such sentences as the following: "The pathos and the majesty of that conception of man which pervades the New Testament no human thought had measured or apprehended, till it fell upon the world from the life and lips and the consummating death of Him of Nazareth. If this conception is not correct, Christianity is in error, from the root upward. If this is correct, the glory of that ever living religion which taught it to the world seems as apparent as the splendor of Uriel sitting amid the sun's bright circle."² The follow-

¹ P. 330.² P. 97.

ing is the adequate ground of a much larger inference than that of which the author avails himself: "I conceive that no grander single monument was ever erected to the comprehensive reach and the interpreting insight of the human intelligence—though it was meant for anything but that—than the marvellous history of the Christian religion, which has made familiar to all the world the chosen new name of Neander, who wrought with such prodigal patience and labor, such intuitive skill, and such sustaining enthusiasm of love, to show the living witness in Christendom to the divine power of that religion which his ancestors had hated."¹

A work of more than ordinary interest is that of Stanley Leathes, D. D., on the *Characteristics of Christianity*.² The author has not entitled his work *Christian Evidences*, but he says, near the close: "I have endeavored to show the character of the evidence on which Christianity rests." The evidence which he presents may be said, in a word, to be Christianity itself. He shows that it is a solid fact and a living fact, and that, if a fact at all, it cannot be less than, other than, it professes to be. His argument is presented in six sections, in which he shows that Christianity is the result of long, careful preparation designed to secure what has been secured; that it was produced through historic forces well known, easily described; that it is a book religion, perfectly fixed and unalterable in its main features,

¹ P. 328.

² *Characteristics of Christianity*, by Stanley Leathes, D. D., Professor of Hebrew, King's College, etc. London, Nisbet & Co., 1884.

founded upon a book that is unique and must remain unique; that it is identified with a person and hence has a life equally new and fresh with each generation of the race; that it is preserved by a spirit; and that it is the hope and refuge of mankind. He says concerning the sending of a Comforter: "Now, it is this gift of a Spirit that is the distinctive mark of Christianity, and from the terms of our Lord's promise it is clear that he intended it to be the permanent characteristic endowment and the preserving element of his Church."¹

The author writes on the supposition that there were two Isaiahs, that Deuteronomy and Daniel are to be assigned to a late date, and that the Gospels belong to the second century. He rejects all these theories, but maintains that the fact of Christianity remains the same, whatever view may be taken of these positions. His book is to be commended as a work in continuation of previous English treatises on this subject. He recognizes that the highest knowledge of Christianity comes only through experience, yet he holds that as a religion its facts can be historically established. He is not one of those who hold that the Christians of past ages were lucky fools, who saved their souls by accepting Christianity on evidence that was intellectually ridiculous; nor one of those who hold that each age must have a new set of evidences, but he holds that if a thing is *proved*, it is proved for all time. The disparagement of the old argument in favor of Christianity is a serious, we believe it will prove to be, a foolish

¹ P. 75.

thing. We believe Dorner and Frank to be theologians who have few peers in the entire history of the Church, to understand these men in part, to be able to enter into sympathy with them, is an elevation and an education, but we believe their argumentation against the old Christian evidences to be not only false, but weak.

The Bampton Lectures¹ of 1884 were delivered by the Bishop of Exeter. His subject was the relations between Religion and Science. This work is also one on the Evidences of Christianity, and one which must exert a good deal of influence on the minds of thinking young men. The author is an evolutionist, at least argues on the supposition of the truth of evolution. But he finds this scheme wholly consistent with the Scriptures and the doctrines of Christianity. He thinks that life was introduced into the world by a direct divine interposition, that man branched off early from the other animals, that he was developed bodily by a long process, and that his spiritual powers are a direct gift from God. He considers that the author of Genesis had nothing to do with teaching science, but was called to set forth the relation of man to other creatures and to nature, the relations of man and woman, the fall of man, and the dim hope of restoration. This he has done in "the allegory of the Garden of Eden." The main evidence of Revelation the author considers to be its harmony with the voice of the spiritual faculty, but this is corroborated by the supernatural works

¹ *The Relations between Religion and Science*. Eight lectures, etc. By the Right Rev. Frederick, Lord Bishop of Exeter. London, Macmillan & Co., 1884.

of Christ and his disciples. He considers a miracle just such an interference with the course of nature as an act of the human will is. He thinks some of Christ's works that seem miracles might not have been, but that miracles and the Bible go together and must stand or fall together. He assumes, as his starting point in proving a miracle, that generally adopted by recent writers, viz.: God can work a miracle if he will, and a miracle wrought in the interest of a divine revelation stands on a different footing from a miracle in any other relation. He holds that with a due regard for the conditions involved, "it is difficult to see what better evidence could be obtained of a miraculous life than we possess concerning the life of our Lord. The moral and spiritual evidence is his own character, which intentionally overshadows all the rest, and it is inconceivable that he should make a false claim. The material evidence is the testimony of men who freely gave their lives in proof of what they said. Nor has anything yet been said or written to shake Paley's argument on this point."¹

These lectures, in the method of argumentation, are in harmony with such treatises on Christian Evidences as those of Paley and Campbell, and Dr. Thomas Brown, though the author makes concessions to the Naturalists, which those men would have been slow to adopt.

THE ATONEMENT.

The doctrine of the atonement is not so under discussion the present year as to require special no-

¹ P. 216.

tice. It is, however, recognized as one of the central doctrines of our religion, and any serious and able production upon it must be of interest. A volume treating of this topic has been recently published in England.¹ It consists of fourteen essays which appeared originally in the *Homiletic Magazine*. The essays are brief, but written by able and independent thinkers. Seven are from authors who would be reputed orthodox, a variety of sentiment pervades the other seven. We need not notice them in detail, but shall simply indicate the tendency of thought to be found in them. The orthodox side may be very briefly presented.

Rev. G. W. Oliver, D. D., author of the fourth essay, with whom Principal Rainy and Dr. Gloag express their agreement, says: "The doctrine of atonement, as set forth in the New Testament, may therefore be readily and clearly stated. God is love, but man had sinned. The Divine Father willed to show mercy; but in order that he might maintain justice while justifying the sinner, a manifestation of his righteousness was, in his sight, needful. This manifestation he has himself provided in Christ Jesus, and by his death. * * * * As Christ's death brought us life, it was vicarious. As Christ's death satisfied divine requirements, it was expiatory. In the fullest sense these things are true."² "Surely no summary of New Testament teaching can suffice which does not include this interpretation of Christ's

¹ *The Atonement*, a clerical symposium on "What is the Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement?" by Ven. Archdeacon Farrar, Principal Rainy, Dr. Littledale and others. London, James Nesbit & Co., 1883.

² P. 60.

death, his blood, as a *prevenient* declaration of divine righteousness, to be followed by the sinners forgiveness and justification. I have no wish to weaken the force of anything which can be said with regard to the effect of the Saviour's death in its influence upon man; but this, on the other hand, can never explain away the effect of the death in its influence *for* man."¹

The seven non-orthodox essays have much with which all theological students are familiar. We notice only a few peculiarities.

Rev. Richard F. Littlefield, D.D., author of the first essay, teaches that the incarnation "was designed to bridge over the gulf between the Creator and his creature, so that men might be made 'at one' with God, not merely in the lower sense of being restored to covenant with him, but in the far loftier sense of being 'like him,' 'partakers of his holiness,' and, yet more forcibly, 'partakers of his divine nature.'" In this he finds a return to an old doctrine, which taught that Christ would have been born into the world if man had not sinned and fallen. Accordingly, he finds the chief atoning force in the life of Christ, not in his death.

Rev. John Page Hopps thinks Paul was not a systematic thinker; that he was not always consistent with himself, and that we should speak not of the scripture *doctrine*, but the scripture *doctrines*, of the atonement. He holds, however, that the better doctrine of justification by faith, rather than justification by sacrifice, prevails.

¹ P. 51.

Canon Farrar, the author of the fifth essay, modestly declines to attempt any theory of the atonement. He is unwilling to systematize such knowledge as he has. He admits that "the mode of stating the doctrine of the atonement which is common among the Wesleyans and Evangelicals is really deducible from some phases of the scriptural teaching on the subject, and cannot be at once set aside as morally and spiritually untenable."¹ Still he considers that they make literal what is really figurative, and says: "The effect produced by Christ's work was not, as is so falsely and so commonly preached, to effect a change in the mind of God. The change was in the mind of the sinner."² And yet he admits that there is "an expiatory element in the sacrifice of Christ,"³ and a moral substitution which is the intervention of suffering and love⁴. The result of his reasoning is, "that it is perilous to press the metaphors of scripture into inferential systems, and still more perilous to make those systems the ground of controversy between Christians."⁵ He designates four metaphors which have been the source of confusion and heresy, viz: sin-offering, reconciliation, ransom, and satisfaction. The closing paragraph of the essay is an exhortation to desist from "these attempts to fly up into the secrets of the Deity on the waxen wings of the understanding." "Let us leave these schemes, and philosophies, and plans of salvation, and watchwords, and phrases, and shibboleths, and theories, and verbal disputes, and inferential perplexities, and uncharitable controversies."

¹ P. 69.² P. 75.³ P. 78.⁴ P. 82.⁵ P. 83.

The seventh essay, by Rev. Crosby Barlow, M.A., is characterized by one of the succeeding essayists as mystical. The opening sentence is: "When the apostle Paul tells us that 'God was in Christ reconciling,' or atoning, 'the world unto himself,' he gives us in a word the most valuable hint as to the nature, the manner and the efficacy of the atonement." The words "in Christ" are the key to this theory. The atoner is God—not Christ, but God in Christ. Jesus in his external humanity was not divine, but was united with the divine, and was in the course of time made perfect. The personality became harmonious. Jesus was glorified. The human was at one, atoned—attuned to God. Here was an atonement—that of Jesus; for his evil tendencies were all subdued and put away. This atonement is typical of ours; "For as the work of glorification is the atonement in Jesus, so its analogue, the work of regeneration, is in us the atonement, the reconciliation of fallen humanity to the will, the wisdom and nature of God."¹

The author of the ninth essay, Rev. Edward White, speaks of the self-emptying of "the spotless Word of God, THE LIFE of the universe," as a doctrine of the highest importance, and too little regarded in modern theology. We wish his essay were more full upon that point. We will not notice the other essays, except to say that Professor Israel Abrahams gives an exposition of the Old Testament teachings concerning sacrifices, which is controverted by Professor Morris; and that the Right Rev.

¹ P. 118.

Bishop of Amycla gives, in an English style which the wits of Queen Anne's day might envy, a short exposition of the Roman Catholic doctrine on this subject.

Several theological works have appeared in Germany during the past year. Those which are new are, however, brief, intended probably to be used chiefly as hand-books by students. But there have been published new editions of two marked works which indicate the tendency of thought in that country. Professor Otto Pfleiderer's *Religionsphilosophie* has been published in two volumes, instead of one, as in the old edition, and with a very considerable increase of material. The author belongs to the liberal school in theology, and is in full sympathy with the *Protestantenverein*. He reduces religion to a scheme of philosophy, and makes it man's participation in the infinite. The work is not attracting special attention, so as to call out popular discussion, but is said to be awaking new interest in the subject of which it treats. The other work to which allusion was made is Ritschl's *Die Christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*. The new edition of this work is attracting considerable attention.

Professor Ritschl is the only man of the present generation who has founded a school in theology—perhaps it might be said of the present century. It is easy to connect Biedermann and Pfleiderer, though independent thinkers, with predecessors; Dorner and Frank are Christians of the national type, notwithstanding any peculiarities they may

have, but Ritschl is simply like himself. As one critic has said, it is like going into another world to go from Ritschl to Dorner. Ritschl's view of law and sin, of reconciliation, of grace, of godliness, are so peculiar that he revolutionizes the very scheme of redemption. Several works have already appeared in review of his new edition. One author questions whether, in discarding metaphysics, as he professes to do in his theology, he is not himself an archmetaphysician.

The adherents of Ritschl are increasing, and some of them are to be found in high places of instruction. We have not space to give any extended view of his system in the present volume, but shall notice with interest the progress of discussion concerning him during the coming year. For the present, we turn attention more particularly to a work not exciting so much interest, indeed, in Germany, but having a closer connection with topics which are uppermost in America.

ETHICS.

1. *The System of Prof. Frank.*

A new work from Professor Frank, of Erlangen, must at any time attract the attention of those interested in theology. His treatise on Christian Certitude has been called an epoch-making book. His work on Christian Truth is one evincing the most

NOTE.—In the remarks on this volume I use the word morals as a noun in the plural, designating the items of habit and conduct that constitute the character of man as a responsible being. I use the word ethics to designate the science of morals, and as a noun in the singular.

patient thought, as well as extensive reading. He has just published one volume on Christian Ethics.¹ To this last production we confine attention at the present time. We may, however, commend all his works to the careful perusal of theological students, not merely on account of the ability of the author, but because of his spirit. The reader will be deeply impressed with the conviction that the author combines great intellectual force with much Christian humility and a child-like faith. Even his presentation of doctrines, which the reader might perhaps decline fully to accept, is pervaded with the most profound and sincere Christian sentiment. Although another volume on Christian Ethics is to appear, it seems not important to wait for it, since the one before us takes up those topics which are now of special interest.

Ethics, as treated by Wuttke, Martensen, Harless, Von Oettingen, and especially by Rothe, has taken a far wider range than that accorded to the subject by recent American writers. The work before us has its chief value in its substantial connection with the theological thought of the past few years. With Professor Frank ethics relates not primarily to the *how*, but to the *what* in human life.

He holds that the conduct of life (in his view Christian life) constitutes morals; that they are the facts which enter into human experience, and that the laws of morals constitute ethics. It will be seen

¹ *System der Christlichen Sittlichkeit*, von Dr. Fr. H. R. Frank, ordentlichem Professor der Theologie in Erlangen. Erste Hälfte, Erlangen, 1884.

that his conception of the theme separates his work widely from those treatises that make morals the science of "Right," or the science of "The Ought." He says morals have a being (ein Sein) for their content, not chiefly, by no means exclusively an ought (ein Sollen).¹ Still he makes the ought indispensable, not something added, not attached to life even by the command of God, but an element immanent in the being, an inherent tendency of it.² Inasmuch as he holds that Christian life is the only real life, it is natural, in fact necessary, that he make morals or ethics the third part of systematic theology. He says: "To be assured of the truth, to know the truth, to do the truth,—these are the three things to which systematic theology relates; this is true to such an extent that the last completes in form what was begun with the first."³

These departments of theology are known with us as evidences of Christianity, Christian dogmatics, and Christian life or the Christian virtues. Professor Frank, however, treats the first department in a peculiar way, setting no value on what have been ordinarily considered Christian evidences; and the last, in the book before us, in a way no less peculiar, though his view of the practical Christian virtues is not essentially different from that ordinarily adopted. But it is to this point that we must give more particular attention.

1. *His Idea of the Nature of Morals.*

It is a postulate with him, both in dogmatics and ethics, that the affairs of the world are ordered for

¹ P. 40.

² P. 45.

³ P. 99.

the establishment of a humanity of God, for the development of a humanity that shall be an embodiment of God so far as human nature can manifest Him,—an idea that is realized in the Christian church. He says: "The means of salvation going forth from the archetype Christ pre-suppose for their efficiency, hence also for the understanding of them, the fact that the entire government of the world, so far as it is an object of faith, aims at the establishment (*Herstellung*) of a humanity of God."¹ His conception of morals (*Sittlichkeit*) is the life of the regenerate man in the progress of his development as he grows up into this kind of manhood. The term which he uses, again and again, to designate the life of the Christian in the state of grace is "the becoming (*Werden*) of the man of God." The life of man, outside the kingdom of grace, he does not consider as legitimately moral. He uses, indeed, the term natural morals, but considers them not truly morals. He looks upon the Christian as a new creature, not in any figurative sense, but as a being possessing a really new life, and this new life is the prerequisite of morals, its development the substance of morals. The new life contains in itself the Christian character, and needs only to be unfolded to present a realization of Christian ethics. The moral character of the new man is not acquired by its prevalence over that of the old man, though that is a necessarily accompanying fact, but is acquired by the unfolding of that which the germ of the new contains. He designates the spiritual "life-beginning" as a "real principle," a principle which

¹ P. 172.

in its development sets forth that which has substance or reality. He uses the term in contrast with "knowledge principle." This real principle includes in itself the elements of the coming Christian life, and sets them forth out of itself.

This real principle he identifies with the personal communion with God in Christ through the Holy Ghost. When this communion takes place the man of God enters on existence in the place of, or as destined to take the place of, the natural man estranged from God. The Christian life thus described is the same as that entered upon by faith, faith being, according to the author, the personal assumption of the offered salvation. The Christian is perfected as the man of God when he puts forth in full array what he already is in the germ, is fundamentally. This real principle is the regulative and propelling force of the Christian life, whether it manifests itself in struggles that barely maintain the continuity of life, or in triumphant victory over the world.¹

It would be easy to cite many passages in support of the above statements. The following will show the positiveness with which he maintains his position: "In nothing is the Christian *ethos* more essentially characterized than by the closed unity of its growth, in accordance with which not anything in and on the man, but the new spiritual man constitutes its morality."² He implies that it is the growth of a manhood of God which constitutes the essence, the compass, the aim of Christian truth.³

¹ P. 76.

² P. 431.

³ P. 5.

"Whoever repels the personal relation to the God-man Redeemer, under a charge of mysticism or pietism, destroys, even if against his will, the living source of evangelical morality."¹

2. *Natural Morals.*

It is of interest to notice the position and office which he assigns to natural morals. He grants to them a quasi-existence, an appearance, but no substantial being. Anything which bears the name moral, in any proper sense, must have God for its starting-point; and the natural man, being separated from God, is incompetent to moral action. "Only the already present communion of man with God secures the possibility and evidence of his moral growth; and again, this growth is moral only because, and so far as, it has God for its final aim—a development of man for God the highest good, of which he is under obligation to take possession."² In immediate connection with the above, he speaks of Christ as the starting-point of man's moral development. The impossibility of assuming the position from which the natural man can live a moral life is asserted thus: "At no point, in no stage of his life, exists for the man fallen into sin the possibility of returning of himself into communion with the living God."³ He considers that Christ's declaration of the necessity of the second birth denies the possibility of man's "doing the truth" by his natural powers.

¹ P. 4.

² P. 47.

³ P. 128.

Yet he acknowledges the existence and value of natural morals. "It is a common human interest that this existence of natural ethics be recognized and appreciated in its significance; since it forms the chief support of humanity, the condition of all worthy human existence, in particular for all true human society, and on the other side is it, according to the Christian view, the still remaining reflection of the original glory of man, and the condition of his spiritual-moral renewal."¹ He holds, however, that natural morals have not consistency enough to form a system, and, judged by the standard of Christian ethics, are worthless.

3. *Regeneration and Conversion.*

Such a view of morals involves the entire Christian experience. Indeed, Professor Frank's ethics might be said to be the science of Christian experience. And, since he separates so widely the spiritual from the natural man, and considers the natural man so absolutely incompetent either to perform or apprehend the good, it is of interest to notice his theory of the beginning of the moral or ethical life—that is, his view of regeneration and conversion. This point he has presented with a good deal of fullness and boldness. He goes to the extent of making the true moral life begin not in any movement through choice of the will, but with spontaneity. Regeneration, however, precedes this first movement of the new creature, by which a new life asserts itself. He speaks of faith as including a spontane-

¹ P. 9.

ous direction toward God, which is the fundamental condition of all Christian morals.¹ He speaks of the new man rising into activity because of the new birth as the spontaneous spiritual *ego*.² He speaks of the converted soul—*i. e.*, the soul having a truly ethical life—as a living creature, a *ζῶον* just come into existence.

The process of the new birth, which he admits to be inexplicable in some of its relations, is with him a theme of highest interest. He holds that the indwelling of the Divine Spirit in man—even in fallen man—gives us some intimation of the method of that divine begetting by which a Christian moral life is made possible. "This exaltation above the transient world (referring to II Peter i., 4, and Acts xvii., 28, 29) goes back to that quality of man to which we are permitted to ascribe the image of God, viz: his mastery of himself and of the world."³ He considers that it is in accord with such a nature—its constitution and design—that it be restored by a second birth. It is natural that the Spirit of God, after man has become flesh and the prey of corruption, should implant in his heart the potencies of eternal life. The glorified Christ is victor over sin and death, and out of his fulness the Spirit of God may penetrate the man. It is in accord with man's personal constitution that what he inherits should be adopted, his native tendencies be made tendencies of self; and therefore it is in accord with his nature that the implanted potencies of eternal life should bring into existence a new God-related *ego*. As a

¹ P. 4, 217.

² P. 200.

³ P. 197.

result of this new birth, there is in the man a two-fold *ego*—an I which wills the worse and an I which wills the better. But the second is as naturally produced as the first. He says: "Here is no magical art, nothing out of the range of human occurrences." Man is a creation so constituted, and, in the purpose of redemption, so sustained by the God of salvation, that he is able to undergo the second birth. The development of the new personality does not differ from other psychical processes. The spiritual potency which the new man receives enables him to establish "a new center of existence, and to fix himself upon it."¹

In the same connection the author compares the spontaneity with which the new *ego* manifests and asserts itself to the spontaneity with which personality is first developed—the actual personality—through the experiences of childhood.²

Professor Frank distinguishes between regeneration and conversion in a way that reminds one, at first view, of such theologians as Charnock and Hill, nor is there anything in his view of conversion to which such theologians would object, but to his idea of regeneration they could not fully assent. He is indeed a hyper-Calvinist in his view of man's dependence, but does not attribute sufficient definiteness to God's regenerating purpose

"That willingness which helps even a work of grace to make progress, may be defective and inadequate, and it lies in the choice of the man, who experiences and has experienced regenerating grace,

¹ P. 199.

² P. 199.

how far he will assent to or oppose it. Under such circumstances regeneration and conversion separate themselves from one another, since the man remains a long time the object of the regenerating operations within, while he does not, as he could and ought, coincide therewith with cordial self-direction; as things now are in Christendom this is by far the most common course.

By the baptism of children the spiritual powers are implanted in the heart of the child, the germ of the new *ego* is laid in the soul: and, without doubt, though we cannot bring empirical proof for it, those spontaneous though unconscious movements take place in the child, which our older theologians designated, often in a mistaken way, with the name of faith."¹

"How long the seed corn of the second birth can remain in a man without dying because of the advancing dominion and increasing firmness of the natural life-direction, is a question which eludes all accurate observation: undoubtedly it can die in the present life, but it can also remain with germinal power till the last moments of earthly existence, despite the heaps of stone and rubbish that may be thrown upon it. In such uncertainty we may adopt here the expressions found, with another application, in the Epistle to the Hebrews (vi:3-9), 'if God permit,' and 'we are persuaded better things of you.'"²

4. *Morals Confessional.*

Professor Frank holds that all morals are and must be modified by the confession of the particular

¹ P. 206.

² P. 208.

Christian community to which one may belong. He says: "Nevertheless it remains, that in every individual moral development, the factors of the community will be brought into consideration, without which it would not be what it is, and that the influence from the community upon the Christian individual is not less in the moral realm than in the dogmatic. For this reason it is of the first importance to notice in this connection the confessional character which is peculiar to the Christian moral life in any actual circumstances, and, consequently, to Christian ethics, which has this life for its object."¹

After noticing other influences which modify Christian character, he says: "But since we have first to do with the Christian as such, accordingly with him as a member of the Christian community, and this as organized and appearing at any one time is confessionally defined, the confessional difference as to Christian moral life presses itself upon our notice as we take into consideration the dependence of the Christian individual upon the Church of his time."²

The author proceeds to point out the different kinds of moral life developed in Christian experience. "The evangelical morality rests wholly and entirely on the righteousness that comes from grace through faith as a fact of experience, by which righteousness the evangelical Christian lives, with the new confirming of which he daily renews his communion with God, and his standing in grace. * * * * On the other hand, this basis of ethical development

¹ P. 297.² P. 296.

has no existence for the Catholic, but his effort must be constantly directed to this, that justifying grace may continuously flow in upon him and his faith be formed through love."¹

The variety of morals among Protestants he dwells upon at some length and with special interest upon the difference between the Lutheran and the Reformed ethics. He asks: "Could it be accidental that in such communities [the Scotch] the observance of the Sabbath command was made a universal requirement, that such particular emphasis was laid on church discipline, that *art* was far less employed in the worship of God?"²

All these, he says, are due to deeper differences, and designates as one, that concerning the doctrine of predestination.

5. *This Scheme of Morals has a Metaphysical Basis.*

Professor Frank's scheme of morals, of the church, and of a restored humanity has a wholly metaphysical basis. He holds to a kindred between man and God, a capacity in man to receive the divine into himself. Fallen man, however, has lost this capacity, and does not know God. But sin is not direct opposition to God, and man may be restored by the bestowment of new powers from Him who gave him the divine image at the first. Redemption carries out the purpose of creation by the exercise of powers like those operative in the creation. "It is the humanity of God towards the development of

¹ P. 60.

² P. 63.

³ P. 66.

which all God's intentions and acts in the government of the world ultimately run. Only for the sake of this humanity, then, which God recognizes from eternity in the Son of his love, the mediator of the world's creation as of its redemption, is there a progressive history between the earthly creature and God."¹ This Son of God's love is therefore the type—original eternal type—of humanity, and is made known to *us* as *our* type—archetype, *Urbild*—in the scheme of redemption. "Just for this reason, we say, is Christ our type, because He, in virtue of his essential divine nature, and its personal communion with human sin and death, sends forth in an overpoweringly regenerative way spiritual re-productive forces for the sake of re-establishing a humanity conformed to himself."² The first Adam, as a *living soul*, could be our type, but the second Adam must be a quickening spirit by the commingling of the divine and human nature; Christ becomes indeed our example, the model man, *Vorbild*, but is effectively that only by being the prototype with regenerating power. An example that cannot be imitated discourages, rather than attracts, the one who is expected to follow it. Christ, as an example, demands of us only what he, as prototype, gives us power to perform.³ The importance which our author attributes to this view will be seen from the following: "Under all the circumstances, however much the expression [viz., of the relation of the second Adam to faith] may need a more accurate explanation, this representation is to be ex-

¹ P. 182.² P. 162.³ Pp. 167, 168.

cluded, that Christ appeared among his people and for humanity only as a teacher and preacher in order, by his influence, word and example, to bring to unfolding and perfection the powers bestowed upon man in creation. It is rather spiritual begetting powers, which enter with Christ the second Adam into this world, establishing something new in it as the imitation and copy of the the Head of the race, from whom they go forth. Here lies the decisive thing in the comprehension of Christian life, which one should not conceal from us under the charge of mysticism. True, the outworking of those begetting forces follows in a historic way, with the historic transplanting and renewing of the image of Christ, but whoever would, by pointing to this historic connection, disturb the stream of the spirit which flows through those natural channels as a medium, or whoever would, out of fear of mysticism, prevent the immediate sinking of the Christian into the Christ present to him, would thereby show that he understood very little of Christian life and its deep hidden fountains."¹ It would be interesting to compare this scheme of morals with that of President Edwards, but for this we have not space.

II. *The System of President Porter.*

A work on morals from the author of *The Human Intellect*, must be received with high expectation. His treatise,² just published, is on many

¹ P. 159.

² *The Elements of Moral Science, Theoretical and Practical*, by Noah Porter, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885.

points as diverse as possible from that of Professor Frank, especially on the relation of morals to religion. Instead of denying reality to natural morals, he teaches "that morality furnishes the criteria by which to try and judge religion in its objective principles and its practical spirit."¹ He has a chapter on "The Christian Theory of Morals," in which he makes no allusion to the regeneration of the human soul, none to the supernatural power of the Author of the Christian system, but simply attempts to show that "The teachings and motives" presented in the New Testament "embody and enforce a speculative system which can be definitely formulated, and which, as speculatively wise and practically useful and trustworthy, is adequate to all the possible exigencies of the future."² He shows that the Gospels discriminate accurately as to human virtues, and enforce them by the highest and noblest motives, furnishing one motive that far surpasses any connected with merely natural systems. "But their (of the family, patriotism, etc.) motive power was derived from something short of the relations of human brotherhood, demanding constant self-sacrifice in imitation of that single commanding and moving example to which all Christendom perpetually turns as its symbol and inspiration."³

President Porter's position in relation both to natural and to Christian morals seems to us much more truthful than that of Professor Frank, yet it may be questioned whether he should not have more regard to the soul as susceptible of regeneration

¹ P. 551.² P. 267.³ P. 275.

than is exhibited in his work. He makes duty the subject-matter of moral science. But is it *as* duty that the subject-matter comes under consideration? Is there an equal *quantum* of morality in the conduct of men who equally well perform the duties devolving upon them? Would there be if the duties were the same in number and kind?

The author holds that the standard of duty is found in man's natural capacities. The ideal derived from a contemplation of these capacities is the law that should control the will. Self-approbation, obligation, merit, etc., are sentiments that rise from a recognition of this law. These sentiments are the most powerful and rational which man experiences, and have the "right to be supreme in their authority over man and in the counsels and laws of the supreme Reason."¹ Accordingly, "Moral good is the voluntary choice of the highest natural good possible to man, as known to himself and by himself, and interpreted as the end of his existence and activities." The objections that naturally suggest themselves to this definition the author anticipates and replies to, but it seems to us not always successfully. He does not show how children can know the end of their being, and that which is only imperfectly known cannot "*as known*" be the end of one's existence. He also presents his objections to other theories of virtue, especially the intuitional theory, but it seems to us not at every point convincingly, while he himself falls back, at times, on intuitions for the basis of his system. He speaks,

¹ Pp. 138, 139.

for example, of the "direct and conscious insight into the nature and degree of the good," which one can propose to himself;¹ he says: man's "first finished and distinct experience of right and wrong activity is attended by the conviction that moral good is superior to all other good, etc.;"² he says: "Every action which is evidently and without exception fitted to promote my own well-being or that of my fellow-men is known to be invariably right;"³ he speaks of God as the Being "who is assumed to be perfect reason and perfect goodness," and argues from this assumption the supremacy of the right.⁴ But whatever may be said of theories of virtue, Christian theists are well agreed as to the concrete virtues, and the treatise upon them, in the work before us, is one of great value, evincing abundant reading and careful thought.

THE NEW THEOLOGY.

The Andover Review has recently contained several editorials on Progressive Orthodoxy. These articles deserve notice as included in the current discussions of theology, yet are not so complete as to require a prolonged review. The true character of the New Theology (a term freely used in these articles) is quite clearly presented, though not fully expounded, in the first essay. The test of progress in theology is said to be its Christianization.⁵ It is said also: "Perhaps the stamp which marks most distinctly and comprehensively this new Divinity is reality; and the phrase "Real The-

¹ P. 144.

² P. 148.

³ P. 193.

⁴ P. 211.

⁵ Vol. III., p. 471.

ology" is in this and other respects a better designation than "New Theology."¹ And again we read: "A truly Christocentric system will be won when, and not until, the Person of Christ, rather than his work, is made central in Redemption, and is seen at the same time to be central also in Creation, Revelation, and the universal kingdom of God."² Such statements are indicative of philosophical as well as theological speculation, and in these essays the influence of a realistic philosophy is traceable.

The second editorial treats of the incarnation. This is a favorite theme with the New Theology, is, indeed, the most fascinating theme of any theology which accepts the doctrine. The manifestation of God in the flesh, the person of the God-man, are topics of never-ceasing interest. It is here claimed that the Andover movement is a real advance in the orthodox apprehension of Christ's humanity and person.

The essay before us will be read with much interest, but we question whether the majority of readers will obtain any essentially clearer views of the Divine Redeemer by aid of it. Christ's person, we are told, is constituted by the union of his human nature, personal, but not a person, with the divine nature personal but not a person. By this conception we are supposed to avoid the error of the impersonality of the human nature. But the conception is difficult. Moreover, we are told that the Logos is a person only with, in and through the

¹ Vol. III., p. 467.

² Vol. III., p. 472.

Father and the Spirit, but is the bearer of a personal principle, and capable of a self-realization in a human life.¹ Is then the Logos one person in Christ and another in the Trinity?

We do not believe the old orthodoxy has reached its final expression on this topic, and that it would be gratified if the new would be a little more explicit.

The third of the Andover editorials relates to the atonement. Atonement is held to be reconciliation between God and man, through Christ the Mediator. Christ entering into the human race has power to bring men to view God and sin as he does and then to repent. God looks on the race with Christ in it and forgives sin, and the forgiveness leads to repentance. Repentance is recuperation and revolution, but is not possible except in communion with Christ. Repentance is regeneration, but is wrought ethically by communion with Christ, not by the almighty power of the Holy Ghost. There is, we are told, no transfer of merit, no full remittance of the consequences of sin, but men are saved by conquering sin.² Still, since Christ suffered in the work of redemption, it is not necessary that all the consequences of sin follow the transgression. The ethical ends of punishment are secured incidentally in the death of Christ. In this scheme of atonement Christ is looked upon as the substitute and representative of the race, because he is really the race itself, being its Head.

¹ III, p. 560.

² IV., p. 60.

Such a scheme of atonement is attractive, very satisfactory, if the philosophy on which it is based may be accepted, but it seems to us to make too little of the individual man, on the Bible view of man to be baseless. Still, we should not like to deny that Christ communicates new power to his Church, that through faith the disciple has a *vital* connection with the Master.

The subject of the fourth editorial is Eschatology. One feels, in reading these articles, that the impelling power of the new movement comes from this quarter. It is the opinion of the author that there is an offer of salvation through Christ made after death to those who have not heard of him in this life. On this topic strong language is used. "This theory [that the heathen are lost unless they have the gospel during their life on earth] is a terrible impeachment of the divine goodness, not to say justice. Is it like God to deal thus with men? Will he leave them in their sins, without any possible means of salvation? The most inconsequent reasoning which leads to some other conclusion is preferable to the inexorable logic, if it be logic, which pushes on to this heartless, unchristian view."¹

Language like this makes the Andover movement seem like a struggle in what Dr. Edward Beecher has called the conflict of ages. How can God be just and yet permit the inherited depravity of the human race? The Andover editor says he cannot, unless he makes the offer of salvation through Christ to every human being—an offer

¹ IV., p. 149.

which, as such, is to be intelligently accepted or rejected. He confesses that the Scriptures are not decisive in favor of this view, but claims that they are not opposed to it. An appeal to reason is, however, with him decisive. God must give all men an opportunity to accept Christ and be saved.

This problem has called out many theories. Some say, men sinned in a former state, and are suffering the consequences of old personal sins; some say, men sinned in Adam; some say their representative sinned for them; some, that it is not *quite* necessary for them to live lives of sin; some, that sin has been counterbalanced by the atonement; and, finally, some, that offers of pardon will be made in the next world. Each of these schemes has its difficulties. The last is very similar to the first in its basis, but much more plausible when taken in connection with other doctrines. It has, however, a fearful load to sustain. It admits that the man to whom Christ has not been preached may properly declare that God has not treated him justly. For a thousand years in the world to come the sinner may be in the right, and God in the wrong, when they come into contention. There would be some excuse for such a person's saying, when the gospel should be finally offered, "I cannot trust a God who has so long misled and abused me." It seems to us one should hesitate long before adopting any doctrine which gives men, at any point in their career, just ground of complaint against God.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

HOMILETICS:
THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL.

BY

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HOMILETICS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

So numerous are the works in this department that have appeared in Great Britain and America since the last volume of *CURRENT DISCUSSIONS IN THEOLOGY* went to press, that it is impracticable properly to notice them all within the limits assigned to this paper. The aim has been to give to ministers, especially to young preachers, an impartial and just estimate of the value of each book reviewed, to them in their pulpit work.

CHAPTER I.

THEORETICAL HOMILETICS.

Dr. Marvin R. Vincent has done young preachers good service by giving to the press his address before the students of Union Theological Seminary, entitled *The Expositor in the Pulpit*.¹ It is a fresh, suggestive, and instructive treatment of "Expository Preaching," which, the author shows, is "not," as some imagine, "an inferior style of preaching," "not comment," and "not a piling up of ingenious conceits round the successive words of a verse." Turning then to the positive aspects of the subject, he shows that the first requisite in successful exposition is knowledge, the second, comprehensiveness, or broad and proportionate treatment, a third, the making of Scripture real to the hearers, and a fourth, the making of the Word, as far as possible, its own interpreter. The expositor, he adds, should "look the Bible squarely in the face," should be on his guard against "wresting the Scripture," and should have "a genuine experience of its divine, saving truths."

Of course, details as to methods of procedure in the construction of expository discourse could not be set forth within the limits of a single address.

The position of the author, that "expository preaching properly covers *all* preaching," can scarcely, as we think, be maintained. It would not

¹ New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co., 1884.

seem to follow, because "exposition is exposing the truth contained in God's word; laying it open; putting it forth where the people may get hold of it," that this is the *whole* of preaching. May it not, for example, be well, at times, to set forth a plain and acknowledged truth of Scripture in a persuasive form, when hearers are supposed to be in need neither of instruction nor conviction respecting it, but simply without sufficient emotion in view of it to lead them to action.

The author's objection to the distinction between topical and expository preaching, as "artificial," is well taken, if these terms are meant to indicate a fundamental difference, and not merely a difference in the statement and division of a theme. In the former case, it would seem that the only proper classification of sermons is that which has its ground in the method of treating the subject, and so in the form of the development, whether explanatory, argumentative, or persuasive.

In the third volume of the *Library of Biblical and Theological Literature*,¹ the editors, Dr. Crooks and Bishop Hurst, have condensed into twenty-five pages (519-544) a large mass of valuable matter relating to homiletical arrangement and material, and to the method, history, and literature of homiletics. These pages abound in helpful suggestions to a young preacher, and they are often put in a terse and striking manner. As an example, take the following respecting the proper degree of prominence to be given divisions in a discourse: "The sermon

¹ New York: Phillips and Hunt, Vol. III., 1884.

should not be a mere unorganized agglomeration and aggregation of saws and sentences any more than it should resemble a skeleton. A fine human figure is resolved into its component members before the observer, but the members have an elastic connection, and are not articulated with wires. The bones may no more stand out than they may be buried in obesity from sight. So with the sermon. This involves the entire secret of so-called sermonic division."

While not favoring the reading of sermons in the pulpit, our authors would have young preachers carefully write out their discourses, and always construct them with a view to their being spoken, and not as if they were articles to be read. "But," they add, "a school-boy-like and poorly memorized sermon, and also one that is so completely extemporized that the pangs of labour under which the speaker brings forth his thoughts may be observed, will produce a painful, and, even if joined with much facility of speech, a repulsive impression." With respect to the repeated delivery of a discourse, we are told: "If a sermon be delivered a second time, or many times, it should be improved for every new delivery. Thus only can there come the joy of creating with each repetition. To ride an old sermon to death is a sad business."

Preachers are warned against slavish imitation of "sermon skeletons" thus: "Better study a great sermon than a skeleton. But do not steal either, or from either."

*The Christian Ministry at the Close of the Nineteenth Century*¹ is the title of a large volume of twelve lectures delivered by the Rt. Rev. A. N. Littlejohn, D.D., LL.D., before the students of The General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the city of New York. The author devotes the first five of these lectures mainly to a defense of the Christian ministry against various charges brought against it, which, having set forth in detail, as also the causes that have hindered or impaired the influence of the ministry, he proceeds to give at length the evidences of intellectual vigor and activity of the ministry as seen in theology, in Christian and scientific ethics, and in apologetics and Biblical criticism. These topics are discussed with much learning and ability. Turning then to the positive side of the general subject, our author advances to show what is needed to renew and invigorate the influence of the ministry—in a word, to make it what it should be. This leads him to speak at some length of the material and training for the ministry, and of preaching. He would have more vigilance used to keep poor material out of the pulpit, and better preparation, both intellectual and spiritual, for it. On this point his words are weighty. "The problem before us is to rear minds that will sympathize with life as it is, and yet not be dominated by it; that will exhibit scholarly vigor and freshness in handling the issues of the time, and yet bear themselves in all inquiries and controversies as though the fundamental principles of

¹ New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1884.

morals and religion were settled, and so settled as not to admit of successful impeachment; that will welcome all the light the age can shed on any and all subjects, and yet abide steadfastly in the conviction, that, on some subjects of chiefest moment, faith casts a surer light than reason; that will admit that there is nothing too sacred for investigation, and yet affirm that there are some things with regard to which belief is the only inlet to knowledge; and, finally, that will challenge authority when it plays the tyrant, or usurps the prerogative of personal infallibility, and yet will lovingly accept, as the ground of all thought in matters of duty and faith, the ancient and catholic traditions which enshrine, alongside the Word of God, the best thinking and purest living of the Christian centuries."

As to preaching, while the author is unwilling to admit that its influence has declined, he yet finds in it much that needs amendment. The pulpit is thought by many to exhibit an unnatural craving for popularity, is largely given to adulterations of every sort, is keenly alive to the charm of originality, is inclined to the spectacular, strives often for the humorous, makes little use of the Holy Scriptures, and is enfeebled from an excess of individualism. Besides, much of our preaching is too vague both in matter and purpose.

This lecture on preaching is one of the best in the volume, and will repay careful reading.

The remaining lectures are given to a discussion of the province of the clergy as educators, and as pastors; of the relation of dogmatic teaching to the

primary ends of the gospel; of the Christian ministry and "the New Theology" (upon which, if the ministry lean, they will find it, the author thinks, a broken reed); and of a character modeled after Christ's as necessary to a preacher's greatest and noblest influence.

These lectures disclose the varied learning of their author, and the reading of them cannot fail to be helpful to a young minister.

The Public Ministry and Pastoral Methods of Our Lord,¹ by William Garden Blaikie, D.D., LL.D., is a volume of nineteen lectures of rare excellence, by the "Professor of Apologetics and of Ecclesiastical and Pastoral Theology in the New College, Edinburgh." In the main, they relate to themes not often treated in theological lectures. The opening lecture, or chapter, ably sets forth "Our Lord's Ministry as an Example" to be imitated by His ministers in all subsequent ages. Then follows a very suggestive lecture on our Lord's "Preparation for His Ministry," special prominence being given to the three great temptations, in which he is successively tempted "to use his power for *self-indulgence*, for *self-display*, and for unholy *self-advancement*;" and the author then proceeds to show that "the circumstances of young ministers about to enter on their ministry present a close analogy to those of Jesus now."

The chapter on the "Inner Spirit of His Ministry," in which our Lord's "zeal for God and sympathy for man, and the most complete renunciation of

¹ London: James Nisbet and Co., 1883.

self in every shape and form," are dwelt upon, cannot fail to be suggestive and useful to a young minister. The "Outer Features of His Ministry" are sketched with fine analytical accuracy. His "*systematic industry, diligence, and self-command;*" His "*variety and naturalness of method;*" His "*combination of apparently opposite qualities,*" and His "*catholicity,*" should characterize the ministry of the present day.

Our Lord's "Work as a Teacher," with special reference to the substance of his teaching, is well set forth, and then follow three able chapters on "Elements of Impression in His Teaching." These our author terms: I. Internal; II. Structural; III. Illustration. Under the first head he notices "the singular *lucidity* that marks our Lord's teaching;" His "*profound personal conviction of the reality and importance of all He taught;*" "His habit of *prayerfulness;*" "His usually *bright, cheerful, and genial tone,*" and "*the harmony of His life with His lessons;*" in all of which characteristics He is an example to His ministers.

As regards the "Structural Elements of Impression in Our Lord's Teaching," our author notes "His *appeals to the Old Testament Scriptures;*" "His *appeals to ordinary human experience;*" "His *appeals to our intuitions;*" the "*variety of level* which he occupied in his expositions of truth and duty," and the "*various felicities of style* that are conspicuous in our Lord's method," as "the remarkable *finish* which marks all his discourses," "*great facility of expansion,*" and "*faculty of concentration.*" Our author

then sets forth the "*Sources*" of our Lord's abundant illustrations, their "Form," and their "Purpose." These three chapters are among the ablest, most suggestive and useful in the volume, and for this reason we have given somewhat fully the course of thought in them.

The lecture on "The Sermon on the Mount," from a homiletical point of view, contains a fine analysis of it as respects its "Structure" and "Substance." The author then takes up in successive chapters our Lord's "Dealings with the Apostles;" His "Dealings with Different Classes"—"I. Outside the Kingdom;" "II. On the Borders of the Kingdom;" "III. Inside the Kingdom;" and closes with two chapters on "His Farewell" and "His Reappearance."

The author's style is worthy of the themes of which he treats. Very rarely do we detect any incorrectness or infelicity of expression, as "avocation" (p. 140), "in their midst" (p. 316), "correspond with" (p. 331). His own style is a good example of that to which he calls attention in the discourses of our Lord: "If it was through the exercise of His human faculties that our Lord constructed his discourses, we cannot think of such exquisite symmetry and finish of style but as the result of a purpose not only to find words for His thoughts, but to find the very fittest words that language supplied. The Sermon on the Mount is a perpetual rebuke to flabby, wordy, uncouth, clumsy discourse. The Lord's Prayer is a perpetual rebuke to loose, rambling, unsymmetrical, unrhythmical devotions. If the exam-

ple of our Lord is to furnish a rule, carelessness of style, on the part of the messengers of the Cross, is at once discreditable, and a source of inefficiency."

We regard this volume as a valuable contribution to homiletic literature.

The Rev. G. W. Hervey's *Manual of Revivals*¹. "Practical hints and suggestions from histories of revivals, and biographies of revivalists, with themes for the use of pastors and missionaries before, during, and after special services, including the texts, subjects, and outlines of the sermons of many distinguished evangelists." Of course, the discussion of so many and varied topics in a book of moderate size, must, in each case, be brief, but the entire treatment is able and judicious, and cannot fail to be very suggestive and helpful to young ministers. Indeed, we do not know where else in so small a space can be found such a compendium of what a young pastor ought to know respecting revivals, as in this "Manual." The author has brought together a large mass of materials on this subject, gathered often from remote and unusual sources, and has presented them in a condensed and attractive form.

Part I. contains "Suggestions from the records of revivalism," which are given in twenty-two short chapters, in each of which some one aspect of the subject is considered. In the main, we assent to the author's views, though, in chapter X., in which he treats of "The evangelist in his relations to the prayer-cure," we can hardly go as far as he, when he says, "I have asked myself, therefore, why they"

¹ New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1884.

(advocates of the Faith-Cure) "should have been moved by the Divine Spirit to revive the prayer-cure. I may be much mistaken, but the conviction deepens that they have been raised up in these latter days to counteract the demoniac miracle-workers of Romanism and Spiritualism, thus fulfilling the prediction, 'When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him.' (Isa. lix:19.) Another purpose which the Holy Ghost probably has in reviving this curative power, is to silence Materialists." Our author, however, treats this topic with judicious candor. He concludes this part of the volume by giving a list of sixty "Instructive books on revivals," thus furnishing ample literature on the subject.

Part II. includes "Outlines, themes and texts used by evangelists of note," and "Sketches of revival sermons from various sources," embracing in all 163 pages; and they seem to have been wisely selected.

In his "Forewords," the author says, "Veteran preachers, who have distinguished themselves as sermonizers as well as original thinkers, concur in the opinion that texts, titles, partitions, skeletons and brief reports of sermons are more suggestive of new lines of thought than are sermons which have been fully composed or printed without condensation. In this regard the experience of the famous Robert Hall was not unique. While on a short visit to his friend, Mr. Greene, he read a volume of the sketches of Beddome's sermons. Though little more than skeletons, he liked them all the better for their com-

pactness; they supplied him materials for thinking. The result was that the dry and unpopular book suggested to him the subject of one of his most original and useful sermons, preached first at Leicester and afterward at Bristol." If we turn to the "Reminiscences of the Rev. Robert Hall," by Mr. Greene, we find the following reference to this sermon.¹ "As we were walking home, I said to Mr. Hall, 'What an astonishing sermon you have given us this morning, Sir!' (The text was—"As the truth is in Jesus.") 'I never heard you deliver a sermon with so much rapidity.' 'Why, Sir,' he replied, 'my only chance of getting through was by galloping on as fast as I could; I was thrown on my resources, and had no conception of its being the assizes till I entered the pulpit and saw the counsellors. I never preached from that subject before, Sir.' I said, 'But when could you prepare the sermon, Sir? for we have been together all the week, and you have had no time.' 'Why, Sir, I will tell you, I thought of it at intervals, and during the night. . . . Beddome's Sermons, which you lent me, suggested the subject, and I fixed the outline in my mind, and, perhaps, was excited by the unexpected appearance of men of talent.' " Thus we see that the great preacher was indebted to Beddome only for the suggestion of the *subject*, which his intensely active and original mind had labored on "at intervals, and during the night," and wrought out a discourse wholly his own. But not all preachers are Robert Halls, and if they have always at hand "Outlines of sermons," by able

¹ "Hall's Works, vol. iv, 54-57, 116."

preachers, there is danger that some of them in the stress of work that often comes upon them, will take not simply a theme, but an entire "outline" of a subject, and will resort more and more frequently to this source of supply until by this system of homiletic pilfering, they will lose both the respect of themselves, and, if detected—as they are almost sure to be in the end,—the respect of their people.

Besides, a young minister, who, instead of manfully wrestling with a text until he has mastered its meaning, and wrought out a plan for its development, appropriates another man's "outline" of it, is taking a course that is sure to dwarf him intellectually.

"How far," says our author, "one preacher may borrow from another is still an open question, and promises to remain open for some time to come." If it be meant: "How far one preacher may borrow from another" *without acknowledgment*, we hardly think it can be "an open question," any more than how far a person may take another's property without acknowledgment.

It is proper to add that the greater number of the texts named are given only with their subjects, and not with "outlines" of the course of thought. The volume is furnished with full indexes of texts and subjects.

Its style is scarcely equal to that of the author in his "System of Christian Rhetoric." Very infrequently we find a faulty sentence, as the following, in which there seems to be a blending of incongruous figures: "It is natural for some men of genius

to close every paragraph and every subdivision with a mid-air explosion of a casket of gems." (p. 33.)

While we commend to young pastors the first part of this "Manual of Revivals," we must caution them against resorting to the second part to relieve themselves from independent investigation and severe study.

Professor James M. Hoppin, D. D., has done the Christian ministry valuable service by publishing in a revised, enlarged, and separate form, under the title of *Pastoral Theology*,¹ the part relating to "The Pastoral Office," in his volume entitled *The Office and Work of the Christian Ministry*. It is a fit companion of his *Homiletics* published in 1881. Following Vinet, the author devotes some twenty-five pages (Sec. 18) to "Preaching," though we confess that we can hardly see how a discussion of this subject properly appears in a treatise on *Pastoral Theology*, as distinct from homiletics. It should, however, be said, that the subject is treated only in a general way, and as a part of public worship.

Among many valuable suggestions to the young preacher, what is said on "The maintenance of the true design of preaching," is worthy of special attention, because of present tendencies. "The pulpit is an accepted basis of public address and of popular influence, and it may be easily wrested from its purpose or transformed into a scientific lecturer's desk, a philosopher's stand, a literary teacher's throne. We may hear from it addresses upon political economy, social science, criticisms of great men and

¹ New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1884.

poets, travellers' descriptions of places and scenes, æsthetic and witty discussions, but the original design of the institution, as exemplified by the apostles, has vanished. Let us have the true thing, or give it up entirely. Let us not turn it into something else, or perhaps, a travesty."

Under the head of having a "Definite object in every sermon," the author well says, "Let the idea be abandoned that the sermon itself is of any particular importance. but let the mind be thrown over the sermon, so to speak, into the end you have in view in preaching the sermon. In this way sermons will not be composed vaguely; they will not be mere religious meditations upon truth, certainly not mere moral essays or literary compositions, but well-deliberated means fitted to accomplish some specific object."

In treating of the "Development" of the thought of a sermon, the author remarks: "Having thought the matter through and through, let the preacher follow simply the plan of his thought, and the free filling out of this plan is the sermon. One need not rigidly stick to a plan, for it is useful only in guiding and shaping the discussion and preventing the mind from wandering. The plan is not the vital thing, and should exercise no tyranny over the thought, for it merely marks out the way."

Now, while it is true that the thought in a sermon is not made for the plan, but the plan for the thought, it is no less true that the plan should be so made as best to embody and set forth the thought, and that when so made, it should be as rigidly ad-

hered to in the development of the thought of a sermon, as a well-adjusted plan of an architect, in the construction of a building. If the plan of a discourse have been properly made in view of its materials, there will be no need of either readjusting it, or of forsaking it in order to develop the thought in the best manner. Of course, this will not prevent the use of any appropriate illustration or thought that may come to the mind in filling out the plan.

As regards the delivery of a sermon, the author gives decided preference to preaching without notes or memorizing, after careful preparation by the preacher, "delivering the message of God warm from his mind and heart." Thus "he will have infinitely greater power with the people to do them good than he otherwise could have."

In closing this chapter, it may, perhaps, not be out of place to notice a *Manual of Preaching: Lectures on Homiletics*¹ by the writer, a second edition of which has, within a few days, come from the press. The aim was to set forth and illustrate the principles and rules of homiletics in such a condensed and practical form, as might be helpful to theological students and young preachers. How far this end has been attained, it is for others to judge.

¹ New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1884.

CHAPTER II.

PRACTICAL HOMILETICS.

The People's Bible: Discourses Upon Holy Scripture,¹ by Joseph Parker, D.D., sustains this distinguished preacher's reputation in a distinctive kind of expository discourse. His method of exposition is best set forth in his own words: "This is not a Bible Commentary in the usual sense of that term. It is a pastor's commentary upon such portions of Holy Scripture as are of obvious and immediate importance to the growth of the soul in Divine Wisdom, and is, therefore, not intended to take the place of the verbal and critical commentaries which so ably represent the latest phases of Christian erudition. Instead of going minutely through any book verse by verse, the first object will be to discover its governing idea or principal purpose, and to make that clear by taking out of the book, say twelve, twenty, or thirty instances most strikingly illustrative of the writer's intention." Accordingly our author discourses on Genesis as a "book of *Beginnings*: the beginning of Creation; the beginning of Humanity; the beginning of Family Life; the beginning of Disobedience; a kind of daybreak book; a wondrous dawn; an hour of revelation and vision. To get hold of *this* idea is to get a thorough insight into the book of Genesis."

¹ London: Hazel, Watson, and Viney, 1885.

This is substantially the same method that the author took in his expository discourses on *The Inner Life of Christ*; and on *Apostolic Life*; and which he has long practiced with no small degree of success. The writer recalls with pleasure similar discourses on the First Book of Samuel, which he heard Dr. Parker deliver in the summer of 1871, and which drew together, on successive Thursdays, large audiences of business men at high noon, in the heart of London.

After suggestive chapters on "Inspiration," and "The Spiritual Organ," and the discourses on "The Unknown God" and "The Personal God," the author prepares the way for his expository discourses by giving an able essay upon "God, the Only Sufficient and Satisfying Explanation of All Things."

His introductions are, in the main, brief and to the point. He goes at once to his exposition of the passage in hand. He does not attempt to give strict unity to his expositions in a single discourse, but is more intent in seizing upon the most important truths of a passage and impressing them with power upon his hearers. His divisions, though not formally stated, are clear, and generally well taken; and his development of them is often unique, sometimes extravagant, and always interesting. Here our preacher is a law to himself. He copies no one, and cannot be imitated without hazard. It is delightful to accompany him through a chapter, while he reveals to us many a hidden treasure, though, after the charm of his brilliant rhetoric is gone, we may find that

"All that glisters is not gold."

As an example of his fresh and original way of thought and expression, take the following on the creation of woman: "God has always been thinking what would be for the man's good. How, then, does God propose to meet loneliness? By making another man? Why, when he made a man to keep Cain company, Cain killed him! It would seem to be one of the deepest laws of human nature that man must kill man, and that the only chance of keeping society together is by the marvellous influence of woman. For man to be alone means suicide; for two men to be together means homicide; woman alone can keep society moving and healthful. The woman and the little child are the saviours of social order at this day, all over the world. For woman to be alone is as bad as for man to be alone. Safety is in contrast, and in natural complement." (p. 131.)

It is a pleasant way out of a difficulty in exegesis, to say that the writer whose words we cannot interpret, is crazy. "Towards the end of the chapter Lamech seems to go out of his head," etc. (p. 149).

In his applications of the truths set forth, our author is at his best. He is intensely practical, and brings every truth home to the heart and to the life. He sees with remarkable clearness the varied and vital relations of Divine truth to the well-being of men, and urges it upon them with great boldness and faithfulness.

As to his style, the author is a master of Anglo-Saxon words, which he puts into clear, strong, ring-

ing sentences. He is fond of antitheses, uses graphic illustrations, and makes his thoughts vivid and striking.

His "Notes for Preachers," and "'Handfuls of Purpose' for All Gleaners," may be of service if used only in the way of suggestion, and not for imitation.

Dr. Parker, as a preacher, is a power not only in London, but also, by means of the press, to thousands who have never heard him in the pulpit; and it is well for young preachers to study the sources of this power in these "Discourses upon Holy Scripture."

The Rev. Dr. C. H. Payne, President of the Ohio Wesleyan University, has given to the public, in a volume entitled *Guides and Guards in Character-Building*,¹ fifteen sermons or lectures delivered to the students of the institution over which he presides. All but two of them—the first and the last, on "Character-Building according to Pattern," and on "Self-respect and Self-control"—are what may be called illustrative or descriptive sermons, in which Biblical characters—eight from the Old Testament and five from the New—are set forth as illustrative each of some one distinguishing excellence or defect of character, which is held up for imitation or avoidance. Thus Joseph is portrayed as "The Incorruptible Young Man;" Absalom as "The Fast Young Man;" Solomon as "The Brilliant Failure;" Timothy as "The Faithful Disciple;" Paul as "The Hero;" and so of the remaining characters.

¹ New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1884.

The author shows much skill in the development of these characters. Sometimes he first gives a brief and graphic personal history, and then draws from it the leading characteristic which he would portray; at other times skillfully interweaving the trait with the history, he presents them together.

He happily introduces his characters to us, and so treats them as to increase our interest in them to the end of the discourse. The sermons are of a practical nature, and the preacher makes a skillful application of the truth as he develops it.

As to the style of these sermons, "they make no claim," as the author, in his preface, modestly tells us, "to great literary excellence." While the style is clear, simple, often energetic, and sometimes graceful, it now and then seems a little too florid, yet perhaps not too much so for a youthful audience. We notice the frequent coinage and use of compound words, as "grace-renewed" (p. 43), "fair-promising" (p. 68), "thorn-crowned," "rose-strewn" (p. 72), "hundred-gated" (p. 73), "heaven-inspired" (p. 92), "strong-purposed" (p. 149), "God-trusting" (p. 153), "hunger-fierce," "blood-fired" (p. 166), and so on throughout the book.

Occasionally we find useless words in a sentence, as on page 168: "But Daniel's faith in God, as the Hearer and Answerer of prayer," etc., in which the addition of the word "Answerer" is evidently needless, since, when God is said to hear prayer, it is implied that He hears it with favor.

Very infrequently we have an incorrect expression, as on page 166: "Into their howling den the

helpless Daniel is thrown." Now, we have heard of dogs, and wolves, and sometimes of even a wilderness, "howling," but had always supposed that lions roared rather than howled.

These sermons are, in the main, good examples of illustrative preaching.

The volume entitled *The Divine Order, and Other Sermons and Addresses*,¹ by the late Thomas Jones of Swansea, is a valuable contribution to the literature of the pulpit. The book contains sixteen sermons and four addresses, with an Introduction by Robert Browning, who frequently sat under the preaching of Mr. Jones at Bedford Chapel, and who gives the impressions that the "Welsh Poet-Preacher" made upon him. We are told in the Preface by Mr. Brynmor Jones, who compiled the volume, that his "father always preached extemporaneously, and when in the pulpit rarely had recourse to his notes." He adds that "some of the sermons which follow are taken from *verbatim* reports." It seems to have been the practice of Mr. Jones to take into the pulpit pretty full notes of what he intended to say, and then to give himself free scope in uttering his thoughts. How these sermons, with their wealth and appropriateness of language, and beauty of illustration, could have been produced extemporaneously, is a marvel. And the marvel is increased when we are told "that this manager of fluent English—copious, varied, wanting in neither imagery nor colour—had acquired when adult such mastery over an absolutely foreign language."

¹ London: Wm. Isbister, 1884.

Of these discourses, five have textual divisions, and two are expository in form. The introductions are appropriate, fresh, and varied; the themes are drawn directly from their texts, and clearly and briefly stated; the divisions grow out of their subjects, and are, in the main, well set forth; and the applications of the truth are full of tenderness and sympathy.

In the development of his themes, our preacher is at his best. A poet by nature, with his Oriental imagination all aglow with the truth he is to set forth, he sees its correspondences and illustrations in the material universe, in human life, science, and art, and lays them all under contribution to serve his purpose. He seems never to labor for fitting illustrations of a truth, but they appear to come trooping about him, ready for his service. In this respect he seems closely to imitate what he so well sets forth as our Saviour's method. "The teaching of our Lord is old and new at the same time. He clothed the ancient truths with new illustrations, and made them live before the minds of the people. We also may do the same. Human life, science, art, nature, earth, and heaven are at our service for this purpose." (p. 301). "The Bible speaks to the heart, and the heart responds. And I would say to all preachers: Imitate this inspired method of teaching; individualize your thoughts, and embody them in their proper symbols, for abstract ideas are of but little use to 'the common people.' Use nature freely, for that also is a Divine revelation, and your sermons shall not be 'dull,' but, like the Bible, fresh as the

breezes of heaven, welcome as the early rain, cheering as the coming of spring, fragrant as 'the smell of the fields which the Lord hath blessed.' " (p. 310.)

He shows wide reading, especially in the department of natural science, from which he draws many of his best illustrations. But though he is so affluent in choice and varied illustrations, he rarely uses them to excess, but makes them serve only to render the truth more lustrous.

His style is remarkably clear, vivid, and forcible. You are borne on by the thought as by the current of a mighty river, broadening and deepening as it sweeps onward. Few preachers scatter throughout their discourses so many gems of thought.

Among the most valuable contents of the volume are the two addresses delivered from the chair of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in 1871, on "The Work of the Christian Preacher," and on "The Answer of the Church to the Scepticism of the Age," as also a lecture delivered at Collins Street Chapel, Melbourne, in 1879, on "The Importance of Preaching to our Independent Churches." These able addresses are worthy of careful reading by young ministers, for they are filled with useful practical suggestions.

*The Reality of Faith*¹ would seem to be an appropriate designation of a volume of twenty sermons that the Rev. Newman Smyth has recently given to the press. They largely treat of the realities of the Christian faith and life, and the practical lessons

¹ New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884.

gathered from them. The texts which, with two exceptions, are taken from the New Testament (indiscriminately, it would appear, now from the Authorized, and now from the Revised version), seem in some instances to be connected with their subjects by a remote, if not a forced, accommodation. For example, sermon XV., from the text, 2 Cor. iii: 11, "For if that which is done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious," treats of "The Permanent Elements of Faith," or, as the author states it more fully, "In all religion, in all faith, there are transient forms, and there are permanent elements." "I wish to indicate, briefly, several successive steps by which it seems to me a candid mind may come to some certainty in the substance of things to be believed and loved" (p. 215). But the contrast set forth in the text is simply between the Mosaic and the Christian *ministry*, and is regarded by our best Biblical exegetes as having not the slightest reference to doctrine (see Meyer and Alford). Also sermon xviii., from the text, Romans viii: 19, "For the earnest expectation of the creation waiteth for the revealing of the sons of God," has as its theme, "Life a Prophecy," or, more specifically, "Some of the prophetic elements in our present life." But our ablest Biblical commentators, in the main, agree that the word translated "creation," in this passage, means "*the collective, non-rational creation*, animate and inanimate, the same which we term in popular usage '*all nature*,' from which we are accustomed to exclude intelligent beings" (Meyer); "*all this world except man*, both animate and inanimate" (Alford).

Our author's introductions are, for the most part, very felicitous. They are appropriate, varied, and always fresh and inviting. We have rarely met with so many good introductions in any volume of discourses. The expositions, rarely given, would seem to have less merit, and sometimes, as above intimated, to miss the sense. The themes are generally given in the rhetorical form, and are rarely announced in a clear and brief statement. It is sometimes difficult even for the reader to find out precisely the subject which the preacher proposes to discuss.

The divisions, too, are generally, as we think, not made sufficiently prominent, nor stated with concise exactness. Infrequently the divisions seem to branch off from the thought. For example, the last half of sermon XIV. (from page 205) is a departure from the thought of the text and the theme.

The author's development of his subjects is rarely argumentative in form. He seldom reasons, but makes free use of illustrations, often very pertinent, drawn from every quarter. Here he is a master. In vividness of description we think him rarely equaled (see page 24). He often appeals to the convictions and experiences of his hearers, and modestly sets forth the results of his own thinking in a suggestive and original manner. In his application of the truth he is brief and faithful.

Our author's style seems unequal. At times, a second reading is necessary to get the sense. This obscurity is sometimes due to defective punctuation. But, as a whole, the style deserves high praise. The author's command of fitting terms in which to ex-

press his thoughts, is remarkable. Now and then we notice a slip, as "in their midst" (p. 266); incorrect quotation (a very common one), "in the sweat of his *brow*" (p. 245); and a confusion of number in pronouns, as, "And who of us expects to live one single day after death without finding ourselves obliged to take God and the whole kingdom of righteousness into our account of life?" (p. 188). (Of course the printer, and not the preacher, is responsible for having added two to the already considerable number of husbands which our Lord reminded the woman of Samaria that she had had (p. 167).

Turning now to the matter of these sermons, we think that they must seem to any careful reader, full of thought. And the thought suggested is more than the thought expressed. Indeed, the suggestiveness of these discourses is one of their striking characteristics. They are, too, though dealing in the main with high themes, very practical and helpful. They are not all of equal merit. The sermons entitled "God's Self-Revelation through Life," "Jesus' View of Life," "Jesus' Method of Doing Good," are of marked excellence. The sermons on "God's Forgetfulness of Sin," "The Law of the Resurrection," and "The Last Judgment the Christian Judgment," in which the author sets forth modestly and in no controversial spirit, his well-known views on the nature of the atonement, and on certain questions in eschatology, would be regarded by many as unsatisfactory.

As a whole, we think these discourses, though having many defects in form, and some in material, are unusually fresh, suggestive, and helpful.

God and Bread with other Sermons,¹ is the title of a volume of twenty discourses of unusual excellence, by Dr. Marvin R. Vincent. The introductions of these sermons, largely drawn from the texts, or from closely related thoughts, are appropriate and inviting, and, in some cases, models of their kind. In his expositions the author is clear and instructive, though, now and then, he seems a little lame, as in his exegesis of the phrase "mighty hand of God," I Peter v:6 (ser. IX. p. 154); his change of "but" to "and" in the phrase, "but know thou," Eccles. xi:9 (ser. XI, p. 189), in which he is at variance with the translators of the Revised version; and, in the words, "the world passeth away, and the lust thereof," I John ii:17 (ser. II., p. 29), where the phrase "the lust thereof," would seem to be not the lust after it, but the lust of it.

Our author rarely announces his subject of discourse in a brief and terse manner. This may be largely owing to the textual and expository methods in which he treats most of his texts. But we think that some of these sermons would have had greater power, had their themes been more clearly and briefly stated.

The divisions generally follow closely the order of thought in the text, and often they set this forth in an admirable manner. Yet we cannot but think that they would have done better service to the hearers, had they been announced in a more distinct and uniform way. The preacher seems carefully to have avoided clothing his thoughts in a sermonic

¹ New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1884.

garb. He does not even use a numeral to designate a division till he has reached his sixteenth sermon, and then, as if afraid of backsliding into the usual form, he abandons his numerals midway in the discourse. We do not think that these sermons gain in power by this form of structure.

The development of the thought is, in general, excellent. The preacher uses illustrations in abundance and with felicity. They are drawn mostly from common life, are pertinent, and often striking.

In the conclusions of these sermons our author manifests his ability as a preacher. Clearly seeing how the truth may be practically applied, he often urges it home with great power upon the mind and heart.

His style is simple, clear, and forcible. He makes large use of Anglo-Saxon words, and the forms of speech of daily life.

As a whole, these discourses of Dr. Vincent are of a high order, fresh, instructive, and helpful, and are worthy of careful reading by him who would learn how to preach well.

*Jesus at the Well*¹ is a little volume of three discourses by Dr. William M. Taylor, on the conversation of our Lord with the woman of Samaria. The sermons are largely expository. The preacher takes up the several parts of the narrative in their order, comments upon them in an informal manner, dwells at length on the more important points, and then brings out in the conclusion some of the truths which the colloquy suggests.

¹ New York: A. D. F. Randolph and Co., 1884.

These sermons are fine examples of a species of discourse in which their author excels. Nothing about them seems trite or unnatural. The scene, the persons and what they say, all appear so real that we almost fancy ourselves on the spot, and eager listeners. Dr. Taylor has the happy faculty of setting forth in a clear and interesting way the course of thought in such a narrative, and of bringing out the practical lessons suggested by it.

The Law of the Ten Words,¹ by J. Oswald Dykes, D. D., is a volume consisting of fourteen chapters, or expository lectures (for such they seem to be), on the Decalogue. The first ably sets forth, by way of preface, the "Characteristics of the Decalogue," in which our author thus states his purpose: "Starting from its adaptation and utility to the Hebrews in the first instance, I wish to inquire what religious and moral principles underlie its clauses, to discover what light has been shed on these from later, especially from New Testament, revelation, and under that light to make some application of the ancient law to our modern life." He then takes up and discusses in their order each of the Ten Commandments, devoting two lectures or chapters to the first, and one to each of the others, and then closes with a discourse or chapter on "The Second Great Commandment," and another on the "Uses and Effects of the Law."

We can hardly speak too highly of these lectures as a whole. The introductions are felicitous; the points to be discussed well chosen, and clearly and

¹ London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1884.

briefly set forth; the developments of the main thoughts are full of vigor and force; and the applications of the truths set forth are close and searching. Two striking characteristics of these lectures are the thoroughness of the discussions, and the wide sweep of the applications.

The style of our author is clear, vivid, and forcible. He wastes few words, and speaks right to the point. In two or three instances we find him using such words as "bulk" as a verb (p. 142), expiscate (p. 194), and falling into the common fault of putting "only" in a wrong place in a sentence (p. 217).

We regard these lectures of Dr. Dykes as fine examples of expository discourse.

*A Year's Ministry*¹ (First Series), by Alexander Maclaren, D. D., is a volume of twenty-six sermons, worthy to stand beside his other volumes of discourses.

The plans of these sermons are textual, and some of them are models of their class. (Sermons III., X.) The divisions, while always prominent, are, in some instances, not stated with sufficient terseness. The theme, as is usual in textual discourse, is not generally set forth in the form of a proposition, but is clearly stated in the different heads of the sermon. The introductions, in nearly every case, composed of materials suggested by their texts, are fresh and attractive; and the expositions, though now and then a little questionable (Sermon II.), are able and instructive.

But it is in the development of his plans that our author specially excels. Here he skillfully uses

¹ New York: Macmillan and Co., 1884.

his abundant materials gathered largely from Scripture, and from human life in all its phases and activities, to set forth his theme. His illustrations are abundant, vivid, and often striking. Sometimes a single word gives great vividness and force to a thought, as, for example, in the following sentence: "Character is the precipitate from the stream of conduct which, like the Nile Delta, gradually rises solid and firm above the parent river and confines its flow" (p. 46); "He (Felix) gives a sop to his conscience to stop its barking" (p. 167); "Death can no more touch me than a sword can hack a sun-beam" (p. 330).

Our author's affluent imagination and vivid conception of thought make his style vivid and attractive. It is also direct and conversational, and frequently uses the interrogative.

The application of the truth presented is generally made during the development and at its close, and is direct, searching, and tender.

While these discourses can hardly be said to be remarkable in thought, they are to be commended, especially to young preachers, as fine examples of textual sermons, and of direct, attractive, and forcible presentation of the great themes of the Gospel. Dr. Maclaren has long been regarded as one of the foremost preachers in England, and the writer well remembers the deep impression made upon himself by two excellent discourses that, nearly a score of years ago, he heard the pastor of "Union Chapel," Manchester, deliver without notes in his own pulpit.

The Gospel and the Age: Sermons on Special Occasions,¹ by W. C. Magee, D. D., Lord Bishop of Peterborough, are worthy of the fame of their eloquent author. As indicated by their title, they were delivered on various special occasions, from brief notes, and, taken down by reporters, were revised by their author before publication.

The chief aim throughout the volume, as hinted at in its title, is to set forth and commend the Gospel as the great need of an age of materialism and scepticism. Our author seems well read in the latest works on these subjects, and shows himself a master in dealing with them.

The themes of these fifteen sermons are, with two or three exceptions, deduced directly from their texts, but several of them are poorly stated. They are not given in concise terms. In some instances it requires diligent search to find the exact thought that is to be set forth. In one or two cases the text itself conforms neither to the Authorized nor to the Revised version (p. 155).

The introductions, as also the expositions when needed, are excellent. But in some instances the divisions seem quite defective. In some of the plans the main heads do not appear to be co-ordinate (ser., p. 89); in others they seem to have been made on different grounds (ser., p. 205), and in two or three cases the recapitulation and conclusion are given as a main head. (Sers., pp. 223, 295, 311.) Indeed, so far as numerals are concerned, our author wholly ignores the Arabic and uses only the Ro-

¹ London: Wm. Isbister, 1884.

man, and puts these to every service, and sometimes employs the same numeral twice in a discourse (ser., p. 241). The divisions, too, are rarely expressed in brief and exact terms, but must be hunted for often through several sentences.

But though the divisions of our author are somewhat defective in form, the developments of his themes are, in the main, admirable. They are replete with cogent reasoning and persuasive eloquence. The preacher seems to have the mastery both of himself and of his subject, and uses with great effect his fine logical and rhetorical powers, his varied learning, and at times his keen wit, to set forth Divine truth. He employs but few illustrations, yet uses these with singular appropriateness.

His language is largely Anglo-Saxon. He is master of a style clear, simple, and forcible. Now and then we find such infelicities of expression as would be likely to occur in extemporaneous speech, and which were doubtless overlooked in the revision, as, for example, the wrong position of "only" in a sentence (pp. 173, 217, 233), the phrase "in our midst" (pp. 313, 315), and remoteness of relative pronoun from its antecedent (p. 97, last sentence). We notice also occasional incorrectness in quoting passages of scripture (pp. 19, 215).

These sermons, as a whole, are of marked ability and power, and when delivered extemporaneously with the fervid utterance and energetic action characteristic of Bishop Magee, we can easily imagine the impression they must have made. We vividly recall the marked effect produced upon a great audi-

ence assembled in Westminster Abbey in the summer of 1871, by an eloquent discourse from Bishop Magee. Among the ablest of them, we regard the sermon on "The Missionary Trials of the Church," from the text, Matt. iv:1, in which a parallelism is drawn between the three great temptations of our Lord and the missionary trials of the Church; the discourse preached before the British Association on "The Christian Theory of the Origin of the Christian Life," from the text, John x:10; and the sermon on "The Breaking Net," from the text, Luke v:7.

While our author seems thoroughly evangelical, he, now and then, gives utterance to sentiments that would hardly be accepted by Non-conformists, as, for example, the following: "The error, for instance, which denies to little children their right to membership in the kingdom of Christ; or that which provides, in addition to baptism, a new sacrament of instantaneous conversion, with its outward and coarsely visible signs as the further condition of admission to the visible Church."

We regard this volume of sermons as worthy of careful reading by young preachers.

Andrew P. Peabody, D. D., LL.D., Preacher to the University and Plumer Professor of Christian Morals in Harvard College, has done excellent service, not only to its graduates, but also to the general public, by giving to the press his *Baccalaureate Sermons*¹—a volume of nineteen discourses, delivered to successive classes (with two or three intermissions) from 1861 to 1883.

¹ Boston: D. Lothrop and Co., 1885.

These sermons are worthy of their eminent author. Their subjects are mainly of a very practical nature, and admirably adapted to the persons addressed. They are gotten directly from their texts with three exceptions, in which the texts are used by accommodation. The introductions of the themes are varied, natural, and graceful. They are, in the main, clearly and briefly stated. They are so closely allied to their subjects and so fitting, that they seem to belong to them. In seven of them, the author uses the antithesis in sentiment with fine effect. His plans are well wrought out, simple and natural, and the divisions, though not stiffly formal, are prominent and concise.

In the development of his theme, our author is at his best. With a wealth of varied scholarship that shines through fresh and vigorous thought, with Christian experience that gives weight to his words, and a cultured imagination and graceful style that illustrate and adorn his thoughts, he is, as a writer, at once attractive, instructive, and persuasive.

Our author mainly sets forth, in these discourses, the practical duties of Christianity, which he commends to his youthful hearers, in a faithful and tender manner. Among these sermons, we regard as of special excellence, the fourteenth, on "Habit"; the sixteenth, on "The Cloud and the Voice out of the Cloud"; the seventeenth, on "Science and Religion"; and the nineteenth, on "Hospitality."

While the author's style seems almost faultless, we notice one or two instances in which, perhaps, it might be better to employ a different word, as

"correspond to", rather than "correspond with" (p. 194), "part", rather than "portion" (pp. 20, 25, 55, 93, 146, 253, 260). We wonder at the proof reading that would allow the honored name of President Felton to appear only as "President Fulton" (pp. 28, 42).

This volume of sermons does honor to Harvard College.

Professor David Swing gives to us, in his fourth volume of *Sermons*,¹ twenty characteristic discourses, which seem equal to any that he previously published.

His introductions to his themes are inviting; and however remote his subjects may seem to have been from the sentiments of their texts, his hearers must have felt that he led them to his topics in a pleasing manner.

Of exposition he appears to have little need, for he rarely attempts to show that a theme comes from a text except in an indirect and general way. His subjects, with scarcely an exception, are related to their texts only by suggestion more or less remote. And they seem to be, in some cases, topics on a lower plane than those of the texts. For example, in the first sermon, entitled "A Divine Philosophy," from the text, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," we are told: "The more you compare with each other what dogmas exist regarding man's coming, and staying and going, the more will you sympathize with the psalmist who declared that the fear or assumption of a Jehovah was the princi-

¹ Chicago: Jansen, McClurg and Co., 1885.

pal element of wisdom." "That you may feel the value of this assumption of a God, you must first consent to the proposition that no theory can be found that will be all through and through an explanation of man."

Thus, our preacher, making "the assumption of a God," equivalent to "the fear of the Lord," builds his whole discourse upon this simple recognition of God, rather than upon a child-like, reverential fear of the Lord, leading to faithful obedience to Him—the meaning that the best Biblical exegetes give to the words—"The fear of the Lord."

The third sermon has for its text, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of Him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, "Thy God reigneth," and, after a felicitous introduction, brings us to the thought: "It must be inferred, from this study, that there is a moral esthetics which outranks the physical forms of beauty;" and so "Moral Esthetics" is the preacher's theme, which we cannot but feel is a thought on a lower plane than that of the text.

The tenth sermon, from the text, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life," sets forth the duty of faithfulness unto death in the various relations of life. But, evidently, the central thought of the text is the reward of a faithfulness to Christ, even unto death if need be; from which all faithfulness in the various relations of life will flow forth as water from a fountain.

The main thought of the thirteenth sermon, entitled "Reason and Imagination," from the text,

"And I saw a new heaven and a new earth," comes out in the closing sentence,—*"demonstration and imagination, acting in harmony, can find the truest answer to the problems of human life."* But is not this a very secular view compared with the supernatural vision given by Christ to the beloved disciple, as set forth in the verse?

In sermon fifteen, on "Merit," from the text, "If God be for us, who can be against us"? we have a fine development of the thought, that "we are in a world where questions of success are all questions of merit." But is not this a low view of the exultant assertion of the apostle that no harm can come to one who loves God?

In sermon nineteen, on the text, "To be spiritually minded is life";—our author takes for his theme—"Spirituality," which he defines as "a culture of the highest." But the passage is generally interpreted by our ablest Biblical exegetes as "The mind of the Spirit (Holy Spirit) is life." Other examples might be cited, but these seem sufficient to show that our preacher inclines to take a secular view of Biblical truths the most spiritual.

The divisions in these sermons are scarcely visible. They are never designated by numerals, and rarely made prominent. Indeed, the whole cast of these sermons is rather that of the elaborate essay than of the pulpit discourse. It is questionable, to say the least, whether more is not lost than is gained by this method.

In the development of his themes our author rarely resorts to processes of reasoning. Often his

statement amounts to a demonstration. He makes abundant use of illustrations drawn from every quarter. In this domain he is clearly a master, and touches nothing that he does not adorn. He rarely makes a formal application of the truth at the close of a sermon, but leaves his theme, when he has done with it, to make its own impression.

The style of these discourses is, in general, worthy of high praise. It is clear, pure, simple, often forcible, and always elegant. There is about it a charm that captivates the mind. Very infrequently the author uses a wrong word, as avocation for vocation (pp. 114, 115, 162, 163, etc.); a needless word, as "shouted aloud" (p. 182), and introduces a pet phrase, as "comes along" (pp. 266, 285, etc.)

As a whole, it would seem that these discourses should be characterized rather as delightful essays on the ethics of Christianity, than as distinctively evangelical sermons on Christianity itself.

*Outline Sermons to Children*¹—a volume of seventy-nine sermons from twenty-nine British authors—is one of the best books of its class that have recently come from the press. It indicates the very general and increasing interest that pastors and churches are taking in the religious instruction of children. Some of these discourses are, as the title indicates, outline sermons of only two or three pages, but many of them seem to have been written nearly or quite in full.

The subjects treated are largely historical and biographical, and they are illustrated "with numer-

¹ London, 1883: Hodder and Stoughton.

ous anecdotes." Of course, with so many authors, there is great variety of treatment and of ability shown in these ninety-seven sermons, but, in the main, they are good examples of their kind. Although it may seem improper to particularize, yet we can hardly fail to name as among the best of these sermons that on "Send and Fetch Him;" "The Treasure Trove;" "The House of Wisdom;" "The Secret of True Strength;" "Pride;" "Hospital Sunday;" "Witnessing Children;" "Herodias' Daughter;" "Knocking;" "Why Children Should Come to Jesus;" "Behold the Lamb of God;" "The Bread of Life;" "The Cross;" "Paul's Sister's Son;" "Living Epistles;" "God's Unspeakable Gift;" "The Adversary;" "Idolatry;" "Heaven." Among the authors of these sermons are Andrew A. Bonar, D. D., Rev. William Arnot, Horatius Bonar, D. D., J. Oswald Dykes, D. D., and other equally distinguished preachers.

These sermons, as a whole, have felicitous introductions fitted to awaken attention and excite interest in their themes, which are clearly and briefly stated, and developed through plainly marked divisions by abundant and pertinent illustrations. Yet the anecdotes do not so overtop the thought as to make the sermon a mere succession of stories. The applications of the truths taught are direct, simple, tender, and effective.

Among so many authors there is, of course, considerable variety of style. Some of these sermons are models of what preaching to children should be, while others would seem to have been prepared for

persons of mature age. We should hardly expect to find in "Sermons to Children" such words as "variegated" (p. 3), "sociability" (p. 4), "horticultural" (p. 4), "pinioned" (p. 11), "expiated" (p. 13), "prescribes" (p. 19), "exceptional" (p. 26), "tranquillity" (p. 48), "ignominiously" (p. 64), "imperceptible" (p. 105), "progenitors" (p. 110), "beleagured" (p. 140).

These "Outline Sermons to Children" show that the great themes of the gospel can be made attractive and instructive to children. We commend them to young preachers, with the caution that they be read not for servile imitation, but for fruitful suggestion in this kind of discourse.

In Professor William G. Shedd's volume of *Sermons to the Spiritual Man*¹ we have the complement of his former volume of *Sermons to the Natural Man*. The book includes twenty-six discourses, addressed to "the Christian heart." And they are no common discourses, but such as we should expect from a man who is eminent alike in literature, in theology, and in homiletics.

The form of these sermons is, in the main, admirable. The introductions are largely composed of materials closely allied to their texts, and are pertinent and attractive. The expositions are brief, clear, and generally convincing. The themes, drawn directly from their texts, are usually set forth in concise terms. The plans are, for the most part, models of their kind. The divisions are few, prominent, and announced in concise, and, as far as possible, uniform language. Often they vary only in a sin-

¹ New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884.

gle word, into which the entire meaning of a division is condensed. Then, the order of the divisions in a plan is so arranged, in accordance with what Theremin calls "The Law of Constant Progress," as both to make the discourse grow in strength as it advances, and to increase constantly the hearer's interest to the end. Several excellent examples of this order of arrangement could be given, did space permit. (See Sermons IX, XIV, XVII, XVIII, XXI, XXIV, XXVI.) We can hardly speak too highly of these characteristics of Professor Shedd's plans and divisions, in contrast with the imperfectly constructed and the almost structureless sermons so common and so popular at the present time.

In two of the discourses the textual plan is followed; in the second of which (Ser. XI), on "The Reality of Heaven," from the text, John xiv.: 2—"In my Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so I would have told you"—we have this plan: "I. In the first place, the words 'my Father's house' betoken the most intimate *familiarity* with heaven. II. In the second place, we are to note the *definiteness* of the spiritual world indicated by the words, 'many mansions.' III. In the third place, we are to note the *reality* of the heavenly world denoted by the remark of our Lord: 'If it were not so I would have told you.' " Now, though these heads represent the order of the phrases in the text, should they not, when developed in a sermon, be exactly reversed, if we would have them represent the order of the thought? As they now stand, is not the progress of the thought backward rather than for-

ward? Does not our Lord's "*familiarity* with heaven" presuppose its "*definiteness*," and does not its "*definiteness*" presuppose its "*reality*?"

In Sermon XXIII, on "Unceasing Prayer," from the text, I. Thess. v.: 17—"Pray without ceasing"—our author says: "We propose to consider two aspects of the general subject: First, that prayer must be incessant from its very nature; and, secondly, that unceasing prayer is feasible." But if "prayer must be unceasing from the *nature* of the act," why does the apostle enjoin us to pray "without ceasing," and not simply to pray? And, then, it would seem that there would hardly be need of showing, under a second head, that "unceasing prayer is feasible," for it stands to reason that prayer is feasible.

In the development of his themes, Dr. Shedd makes more use of argument than of illustration. Perhaps a more generous employment of illustrations might have rendered these discourses more popular, if not more profitable. Yet they cannot be said to be deficient in this respect. The author shows great breath of reading, especially in classic literature, and draws thence apt illustrations of the truth he is presenting.

His conclusions are, in the main, models of simplicity, energy, and brevity; and are generally introduced by a recapitulation of the points discussed.

The style of these sermons is such that the reader rarely thinks of it. It is largely made up of Anglo-Saxon words, and is clear and forcible. Very rarely do we detect such slight mistakes as "avocations" for vocations (p. 15, 16); the insertion of an

adverb between the sign of the infinitive and the verb (pp. 14, 20, 150, 215, 230, 285, 325); and "correspond with" for correspond to (pp. 150, 245, 275).

But these sermons are not less remarkable for their material than for their form. They treat wholly of those Biblical truths that have a vital relation to the Christian life and growth. They are pre-eminently scriptural—the farthest remove possible from a multitude of ethical essays of the present day, that by an exaggerated figure of speech are sometimes called sermons. They are also very searching in the application of Biblical truth to the heart and life. And they have a spirituality pervading them, that cannot but deeply impress the reader. They are as "the author is well aware" (as he says in his preface), "out of all keeping with some existing tendencies in the religious world." "But," he adds with calm assurance, "these tendencies are destined to disappear, whenever the blind guides shall cease to lead the blind, and honest self-knowledge shall take the place of self-flattery and religious delusion."

We commend these sermons to young preachers as fine examples of homiletic skill in setting forth Divine truth.

The volume of twenty-four *Sermons by the Rev. W. Morley Punshon, LL.D., Second Series*,¹ is worthy of its distinguished author. Of these discourses, ten are textual, and two expository. The themes are drawn directly from their texts, and are

¹ London: T. Woolmer, 1884.

happily introduced by thoughts taken from the contexts. They are clearly stated, and often in brief terms.

The plans are, in the main, well wrought, and the divisions simple, clear, brief, and prominent. Often the chief heads of a plan are formally given immediately after the announcement of the subject, before entrance on its development.

In one or two instances, the plans seem defective in the arrangements of the divisions. For example, in the sermon on "Largeness of Heart," from the text, I Kings IV: 29., we have the following: "We will notice

I. What is comprehended in 'largeness of heart.'

II. How it may be obtained.

III. What makes it valuable." (p. 172.)

Now, it must seem evident that that the second and third divisions should change places, for we must see that a thing is valuable, before we shall care to know how to obtain it. In the sermon on "Christian Citizenship," from the text, Phil. iii: 20, 21, "For our conversation is in heaven," etc. (p. 333), our author gives the following statement of his subject and its divisions: "Let me remind you of your citizenship this morning, that you may be grateful as you remember its *source*, stimulated to discharge its *duties*, and comforted by the thought of the *immunities* which it confers." Now, if it be the main purpose of the preacher to stimulate his hearers to the discharge of the duties of Christian citizenship (as seems to be the case), then his sermon

reaches its culmination at the close of its second division, and decreases in power in the third, which should, therefore, change places with the second.

In the development of the plans of his sermons our author rarely enters on a train of reasoning. He abounds in apt illustrations drawn especially from the sacred Scriptures, as also from nature, art, and literature. He shows an exuberant imagination, which he has so cultivated that it always produces pleasing results. His applications of the truth are practical, tender, and searching. His style is uniformly elevated and refined, and seems at times, perhaps, a little too formal, but is always clear and elegant, and often forcible. His skillful use of epithets gives vividness to his style. Very rarely do we find him putting a word in the wrong place in a sentence, as "only," on pages 47, 181; or employing a word in an obsolescent meaning, as in the phrase, "if men would pleasure him and secure his favor," (page 319).

Some of these sermons are of unusual merit; the one on "Faithful Stewardship: A Charge to Young Ministers," is among the best in the volume. Indeed, we do not know where else can be found within an equal space, so much valuable advice to young ministers.

These sermons, as a whole, are worthy of careful reading by young preachers. We can easily imagine the powerful impression such sermons made, when delivered without notes, with the graceful manner, and the fervid utterance of the preacher.

*Sermons on Unusual Subjects*¹ is the title of a volume of fifteen discourses by J. M. McCulloch, D.D., which also contains his "Compendious View of the prophesies in the Pentateuch," and "Prayers for School and Public Worship," together "With a Memoir of the Author," by his Son-in-law, James Rankin, D.D.

These sermons, as indicated by their title, are, in the main, on themes not very often discussed in the pulpit, as Balaam; King Saul and the Witch of Endor; Ananias and Sapphira; The Gift of Tongues; The Imprecatory Psalms; Jonah and Paul at Sea; The Voice of Epidemics; Juvenile Mortality; Burial. As they were carefully selected by the author himself from all his sermons, they may be regarded as representing him at his best.

His method of treating historical subjects is to give in the introduction a sketch of the person or event, and then in the development to notice the lessons suggested.

His introductions are appropriate and interesting, his themes generally well stated, and his divisions natural, clear, and brief. He uses few illustrations, often reasons with cogency, makes frequent appeals to men's convictions and experiences, and causes everything to tend to a practical conclusion. Indeed, one of the chief characteristics of these sermons is their practicality. Several of them are on themes of the most practical nature, and the treatment of them is full of good sense and wise suggestions.

¹ Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1884.

Our author's style is clear, graceful, and rather stately than forcible. These sermons contain no expressions that can offend the most cultivated taste. After having been carefully written, they were committed to memory, and delivered without manuscript.

Although they are not remarkable for thought, learning, or forceful expression, yet their themes are treated with such appropriateness, clearness, and brevity, and brought to such practical conclusions, that we regard these sermons as worthy of careful reading by young preachers.

Unspoken Sermons,¹ by George MacDonald, LL.D., are replete with the characteristic literary excellences of their author, but can scarcely be called sermons. They are rather running comments or philosophical disquisitions on certain passages of Scripture, than sermons on them in the common acceptation of that term. Hence, they should not, perhaps, be criticised for not conforming to homiletic rules. The author gives us, in these twelve philosophical essays, such interesting themes as "The Child in the Midst," "The Heart with the Treasure," "The New Name," "The Temptation in the Wilderness." He shows in his discussion of those subjects the keen analysis, the poetic opulence, the great-hearted tenderness and sympathy, manifest in his other writings. We cannot say much in commendation of his homiletics, and still less of his theology, which seems so to enlarge on the Fatherhood of God, as to give little or no place to Him as

¹ London: Alexander Strahan, 1884.

Ruler and Judge. This, together with his philosophy, leads him, in opposition as it would seem to explicit declarations of Scripture, to teach the final restoration to holiness and happiness of all men (pp. 49, 213, 229, 230), Judas himself (p. 95), and even one who may have committed the "unpardonable sin" (pp. 96, 97). But it should be said that these opinions are set forth in the farthest possible from a dogmatic spirit.

Of these discourses or essays, we regard that on "The Temptation in the Wilderness" as, on the whole, the ablest. In his sermon on "The Eloi," our author advances the opinion that not a little of our Lord's agony on the cross was caused by a temptation of Satan who had now returned to Him after having left Him for a season, and who tried to make our Saviour in His suffering and weakness give up His faith in God, and to believe that His Father had indeed forsaken Him (p. 164). Is it not more consonant with the tenor of the teachings of Scripture on this mysterious subject, to hold with Alford, that "*His soul was in immediate contact with, and prospect of, death—the wages of sin, which He had taken on Him, but never committed?*" (Vol. I, p. 295).

The volume entitled *Teachings and Counsels*,¹ by Mark Hopkins, D.D., LL.D., adds another to the valuable works given to the public by the revered ex-President of Williams College. It contains twenty Baccalaureate sermons, delivered to successive classes from 1850 onwards, and a noble Memorial Discourse on President Garfield.

¹ New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884.

Not often does such a book as this come from the press. These "Teachings and Counsels" represent the garnered knowledge and wisdom of one, who, by reason of his character, his varied attainments, and his life-work, is eminently worthy of being heard.

These discourses are upon such themes as "Faith, Philosophy, and Reason;" "Strength and Beauty;" "Receiving and Giving;" "Higher and Lower Good;" "The Manifoldness of Man;" "God's Method of Social Unity;" "The Bible and Pantheism;" and "The Body, the Temple of God."

Our author has no set way of introducing his themes. His exordiums are sometimes composed of materials taken from the context, but more often from his own observation and reflection; and they are varied, appropriate, and attractive. Sometimes a single thought is expanded into an introduction. His expositions are felicitous, and are, at times, condensed into a single sentence that flashes a flood of light upon the subject (p. 46).

His themes are not always tersely stated; and his divisions, though in general admirable, are often announced in a manner not sufficiently distinct and concise. Yet, in some instances, the sermon is a model in both these respects (Ser. XVI).

But the chief excellence of these sermons lies in the development of the themes. Here President Hopkins shows himself a master in philosophy, in theology, and in knowledge of human nature. His wealth of thought and illustration brought from these domains, and from the world of nature, is re-

markable. It is as delightful as it is instructive to follow him, as with apparent ease he makes clear, themes the most difficult, and causes them to stand forth robed with light. The applications of the truths set forth, are tender, faithful, and forcible.

Our author is remarkable for condensed expression of thought. As examples, take the following: "The works of man are impaired by use; those of God are improved" (p. 28); "The better, the higher, the purer, the nobler any being is capable of becoming, the more utter and awful may be its downfall and ruin. It requires an angel to make a devil" (p. 141); "Everything which God has made he treats according to the nature he has given it" (p. 251). It were easy to multiply examples such as these, in which the author seems to condense a discourse into a single sentence. We scarcely need to add that we regard these discourses as, in many respects, models of their kind, and worthy of careful study for their many excellences.

Let one carefully read the volume entitled *The Brooklyn Tabernacle, A Collection of 104 Sermons preached by T. De Witt Talmage, D.D.*,¹ and he cannot fail to get a pretty clear idea of this eccentric and remarkable preacher. For these sermons, preached during the last six years in Europe and America, are each sui generis, and could have come from no other preacher.

Our limits permit only a brief delineation of the characteristics of these "104 sermons."

The texts are, in the main, unusual, and often the themes startle us by their quaint originality, or

¹ New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1884.

remoteness from their texts. For example, we have from Luke XV: 28, "The Pouting Son;" from II Chron. IX: 9, "Spicery in Religion;" and from I. Tim. IV: 8, "Ante-Mortem Religion."

As regards the plans of his sermons, he is, as in everything else, a law to himself. While he always makes points, they often are like the head-lines of a newspaper article. Now and then we find a well ordered plan clearly set forth in brief terms.

He seems fond of finding and tracing analogies—sometimes apparently fanciful—between simple statements of facts in Biblical history, and spiritual truths, as, for example, from II Sam. XIX: 18; ("And there went over a ferry-boat to carry over the king's household") he gets his theme, "The Ferry-Boat of the Jordan," and proceeds to draw from it the following: "My subject, in the first place, impresses me with the fact that, when we cross over from this world to the next, the boat will have to come from the other side." "Again, my subject suggests that, when we cross over at the last, the King will be on board the boat." "Again, my text suggests that leaving this world for heaven is only crossing a ferry." "My subject also suggests the fact that, when we cross over at the last, we shall find a solid landing." "Again, my subject teaches that, when we cross over at the last, we shall be met at the landing." (pp. 397-399). Our preacher's brain seems to teem with these often far-fetched analogies, and he delights to set them forth in quaint forms.

In the development of his subjects he rarely attempts to reason, but gives to his audience a suc-

cession of pictures and stories often startling and affecting. His sermons are kaleidoscopic, though it must be confessed that the colors are not always beautiful, nor the forms symmetrical. Often we are startled by the rapidity with which vivid figures of speech and touching anecdotes chase each other through the sermon. There is no calmness of movement, but everything is on the gallop. The preacher seems to be tormented with the fear that he may become tame and prosy, and he would be anything else rather than that. But his Oriental imagination comes to his aid, and piles figure upon figure until it seems as if they reached the very heavens.

His style (in which he is both law and dictionary to himself), though often concise and forcible, at times borders on fustian, and not infrequently he employs figures and expressions that must have well nigh crucified a cultivated taste. He seems to take delight in picturing in the most vivid and minute manner possible such a terrible scene as the crucifixion (pp. 217-220), where the sacred writers are mercifully silent.

Now it must be admitted (for facts prove it) that such a style of preaching will draw the multitude. But if that is the great end to be gained, other and grotesque styles of preaching will also draw them.

The author lays great and just emphasis on being "fresh" in one's preaching, but to be so, it is not necessary to be turgid.

To Biblical scholarship he would, doubtless, not lay much claim, and it does not seem to trouble him

in the least to assign the delivery of the Sermon on the Mount to the Mount of Olives (p. 257).

And yet, though we cannot but regard these sermons as, in many respects, faulty in manner, we think that they are, in the main, worthy of praise. They set forth the truths of the Gospel. They are practical and helpful. Their key-note is joy. Their author seems ever to be in a condition of religious jubilation. He looks on the bright side of things, and preaches a Gospel of joyfulness and sympathy. This, as much as his unique style, freedom from notes, and histrionic manner of preaching, attracts the multitude.

These sermons are quite unequal in merit, but we think that the six preached in reply to Mr. Ingersoll, are among the best, and conform to the injunction in Proverbs xxvi: 5.

We must caution young ministers against useless attempts to imitate the eccentricities and crudities of this preacher, but his zeal and fidelity in preaching the Gospel, and his large-hearted sympathy with the people, are worthy of imitation.

The volume entitled *Discourses on some Theological Doctrines as related to the Religious Character*,¹ by Edwards A. Park, D. D., is one of the most valuable contributions made to the recent literature of the pulpit. The work—a large octavo volume of about four hundred pages—consists of fourteen sermons on such themes as “The Prominence of the Atonement”; “The Revelation of God in His Works”; “The Power of the Gospel”; “Eternity of God”; “All the Attributes of God are Comprehended in His Love”; “The Design of God in His

¹ Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1885.

Work of Creation"; "Influences Affecting the Character of Christ Considered as a Man"; "The Sorrows of the Redeemer in Anticipation of His Death." These subjects are discussed with such fulness that the sermons are well nigh treatises.

The author states that these discourses "were designed to exhibit certain practical relations of certain theological doctrines, to show that the doctrines were to be revered for their use in religious experience as well as for their harmony with sound reason and divine inspiration. The discourses were not designed to be theological or doctrinal in the full and distinctive meaning of those terms. Neither were they designed to be scientific discourses".

For the discussion of these difficult themes in the pulpit, it scarcely need be said that few are so well qualified as the author. Eminent alike in metaphysics, in theology, and in homiletics, he has given to the public, in a popular form, the ripest fruit of his study on these subjects.

The introductions are as varied as they are appropriate and attractive; the themes, generally in the form of a rhetorical proposition, are distinctly and briefly stated; the plans are remarkable for their variety, originality, and appositeness; and the divisions are models of prominent, clear, and brief expression.

Some of the plans are unique in structure. In the sermon on "The Prominence of the Atonement," from the text, "For I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified", the plan consists of three main thoughts, which, in the form of inquiries, are reverently addressed, in an imaginary conversation, to the Apos-

tle; and by the replies elicited by three subordinate queries under the first question, is set forth the "Meaning of the text"; then, by answers to three similar interrogatories under the second question, is shown the "Importance of making the work of Christ so prominent"; and then, by three other queries under the third question, are made manifest the "Methods of resisting our natural disinclination to make the work of Christ so prominent." In this way the discourse has all the movement and interest of a Socratic dialogue.

In the plan of the sermon on "The Design of God in His Work of Creation," from the text, "For whom are all things, and by whom are all things," the first main division—God created all things in order "I. To promote his own happiness," prepares the way for the second, and fitly introduces it—"II. To promote his happiness in exercising his perfections"; which, in turn, felicitously introduces the third—"III. To exercise his perfections in making his creatures happy"; and this naturally leads to the fourth—"IV. To make his creatures happy in their holiness"; and this to the fifth—"V. To make them happy and holy in his manifestation of his perfections"; and this again to the sixth—"VI. To manifest his perfections in the redemptive work of Christ"; and the climax is reached in the seventh—"VII. To make this redemptive work a means of promoting his own glory." Thus, in the progress of the discussion, the first main thought pours itself into the second, the second into the third, the third into the fourth, until at length all are merged into the last—God's glory. What a rebuke are such discourses as these, to those so-called sermons that are "without form and void"!

This "constant progress" and movement of the thought is a marked characteristic of these discourses. Of this, the sermon on "The Power of the Gospel", and that on "Union with Christ," are fine examples.

But our author shows himself no less a master in pulpit discourse in the development of his plans, than in the plans themselves. Here his varied learning, his acumen, his precision of thought, and his vivid imagination, are clearly seen. He treats themes the most profound with a lucidity that makes them attractive and instructive to the popular mind, while in his "Notes", he discusses more at length, and with singular ability, topics on which he could not dwell in the sermons.

The style of our author is well adapted to his themes. His precision of expression resulting from his precision of thought, is remarkable. His clean-cut sentences follow one another as golden coin dropping in a mint. We notice a certain temperateness of statement and expression in marked contrast with the extravagant language too often heard in the pulpit. We must suppose that a writer so exact in his use of language, prefers to other forms such expressions as to "formally state" (pp. 232, 233), "to justly claim" (p. 293), "to correspond with" (pp. 223, 272, 339).

After carefully reading these sermons a second time with increased interest, it does not seem to us an undue estimate of them to say that this volume of discourses holds much the same place in the recent literature of the pulpit, that Michael Angelo's statue of Moses holds in modern sculpture. Although the production of such discourses as these must be the despair of men who have to prepare two sermons, or even one sermon, a week, yet the study of such models cannot fail to be beneficial.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

RECENT STUDIES IN
PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

BY

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PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

Introductory—the Pastor.

We often hear that the sermon which is to carry weight must have a man behind it. That is equally true of a pastor's work outside of the pulpit. And his manhood must be not only irreproachably pure and devout. It must be practical as well. It must adapt itself to men in all the emergencies in which it may meet them, and the demands they may make upon it. "Believe me," says Dr. Joseph Parker of London,¹ "it will be of small service to you, as a pastor, if you know how to parse a chapter in the Greek Testament, but do not know how to accost an unfriendly critic, or to give the turn to a disagreeable debate.

And the manhood of the pastor must be generously expansive, moreover. It must spread into a broad, intelligent, magnanimous character, which, independently of his sacred office, will command the esteem of men. Such of the literature of Pastoral Theology as emanates from writers in state-churches, or in compactly organized and strongly governed voluntary churches, is, at this point, specially deficient. It goes on the assumption of an authority and remedial virtue in the mere office of the pastor, which dangerously relieves him from vigilance as to

¹ *Ad Clerum, Advices to a Young Preacher.* Boston: Roberts Brothers.

the quality of his manhood. It inflates his estimate of his special sect, and tethers the range of his fellowship.¹

But the fineness of a pastor's sensibility may be reduced by other causes as well. Under the relentless pressure of want, in too many an instance, his hopefulness loses its elasticity. The consciousness of neglect and wrong galls his feeling. Possibly the sense of dependence lowers the tone of his self-respect. A slow debility reduces his moral stamina, and he stands feebly as a champion of the truth.

So, again, an excessive dependence on ordinances wilts the strength of personal Christian character. "The Word and the sacraments alone," says a writer in the *Lutheran Quarterly Review* (April, 1885), "give confirming grace." A church with apostolic dignity and authority, ordinances that have in themselves the virtue of an *opus operatum* to benefit the partaker, are a perilous substitute for personal soundness in faith and life.

¹ As, for example, in *A Treatise on the Pastoral Office, addressed chiefly to candidates for Holy Orders, or to those who have recently undertaken the Cure of Souls*. By the Rev. John W. Burgon, M. A. London: Macmillan & Co. "He [the faithful Church of England pastor, p. 376] gives them a letter, if they are departing to some distant country, which they may present to the English clergyman who ministers to that far-away congregation, and he entreats them to be faithful to the church of their fathers, when they are at a distance from their native land." Just this deplorable narrowness, as it is easy to see, might quickly thrust out the emigrant from all Christian fellowship. For, if he should find in the strange land no church of his own special faith, he would conclude it to be a treachery to attend any other, and so would abandon all Christian worship. A pastor in Leipsic told a friend of the writer, who had thought of attending, on one occasion, the Lord's Supper in a church of another communion, that she might as well, during the Franco-German war, have deserted to the French flag!

Pastoral Theology of the New Testament.

More light than is generally supposed may be thrown on the pastor's work by a diligent, discriminating study of the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles of Paul. The spirit of the Master and of the great apostle is, of course, with its mighty uplift and its appeal to every noblest motive, of most moment to the minister of our time. But, notwithstanding changed conditions and surroundings, we may learn, from the methods in which they approached and dealt with men, many a lesson that is as pertinent as ever to-day. The work by the late Professor Beck of Tübingen¹ is a valuable contribution to this branch, or rather this root, of the literature of Pastoral Theology. In Part I he presents the spiritual conception of the pastoral office; in Part II, the Lord as a pattern; in Part III, the work of the apostles as teachers. Under the question, "Where are those souls which are fit to receive the kingdom of heaven most readily to be found?" he remarks on our Lord's selection of the apostles. The souls just referred to, he says, "are to be found under simple conditions of life, in spheres of quiet industry, not of noisy, fussy activity, or of comfortable, learned, respectable indolence. They are fishermen, busied with the work of their calling. * * We might readily fancy that it is among the people best off for leisure that we should succeed best with our Christian instructions and exhortations. We like to

¹ *Pastoral Theology of the New Testament*, by the late J. T. Beck, D. D., Professor of Theology, Tübingen. Translated from the German by Rev. Jas. A. McClymount, D. D., Aberdeen, and Rev. Thos. Nicol, B. D., Edinburgh; New York: Scribner and Welford.

rise into the sphere of culture and respectability, fancying that there, where so many forms of coarseness and passion are not to be found, the good seed would best find entrance and nurture. * * Christianity, indeed, by no means repels people of the higher classes; it is no demagogic movement. But just as little do Christ and his apostles mark out the higher classes for distinction." His entire discussion of this matter is admirable in both spirit and ability.

In considering the organization of the early churches, he remarks that, "in the arrangement and perfecting of church relations, there is nowhere any sign of a systematically adjusted plan—of the working out of a preconceived theory. Everything takes shape of itself, partly as the result of the Divine elements absolutely given, namely the Word and the fellowship of faith, and partly owing to * * the actual need for the time being." The garment of external forms and appliances was fitted to the body that was to wear it—not the body to the garment. As we were wont to say of our Congregational polity, the ancient measures and methods of administration were the outcome simply of "consecrated common sense." And the fact is of no little practical moment. Many a modern pastor sees the necessity of some new measure, or the discontinuance of some old one. But, with a vague idea of a sacredness in what is established, fearing lest he be smitten for rashly touching the ark, he foregoes his better judgment and delays or finally desists. It is worth something to him to know that nothing is sa-

cred or inviolable which manifestly hinders the work of the church.

The author's discussion of the conflict of the apostles with the power of the Jewish state-church evolves principles which would utterly subvert the Lutheran establishment in Germany. Indeed, there are not wanting evidences that advanced and thoughtful minds in that country are feeling the influence of the voluntary system so happily at work among Dissenters in Great Britain and all communions in the United States.

The Private Life of the Pastor.

Dr. Christian Palmer¹ of Tübingen lays it down as a principle that there is no higher moral standard for the clergyman than for a layman. But, though a lamp may have no duty but to shine, yet if it be set as a signal on a coast or a railway, some special emphasis falls on the duty of shining brightly. Remonstrate as we may, yet probably to the end of time, the same fault will be counted venial in a parishioner and unpardonable in a pastor. And none but an indolent pastor, living rather by force of inertia than of consecrated will, is disposed to complain of it. "The minister," says Dr. Thomas Murphy,² "is continually in the midst of scenes which must keep fresh the impression of the importance of true godliness." Even so. No man can have it for his occupation to comfort the heavy-hearted and attend the sick and dying, without discovering that

¹ *Evangelische Pastoraltheologie*, Zweite Auflage S. 143.

² *Pastoral Theology. The Pastor in the Various Duties of his Office*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

only a present Christ is a reliance in an hour of gloom. And the character of a man grounded in Him—only that will make any pastor a tower against which the sorrowing and feeble can lean.

Installation and Recognition.

The increasing neglect of installation has attracted notice, and been widely discussed. Attention has been called to the fact that this neglect occurs chiefly among the smaller churches. So that, though a large majority of churches is drifting away from the usage of the fathers, a majority of the church-members seems still to adhere to it. The causes of the neglect are diverse. In some cases the unwisdom of councils who have refused to dismiss unsuccessful pastors has left churches in no mood to resort to installation again. In other cases ambitious ministers, hoping to make one church a stepping-stone to another, have preferred to keep their relation to it loose and easily sundered. But in probably still more numerous instances the neglect has been a mere inadvertance. Whatever the causes, however, the evil is serious and constantly spreading. Though sporadic cases are found of uninstalled pastors who remain long at their posts; though there are others, more rare, in which installation has seemed to work friction and change, yet in general, beyond question, the neglect of it tends to instability in the pastoral relation.

But that is not the chief evil. The installing and dismissing councils are almost the only councils in which our churches come together. The danger is,

that in demitting them, with no substitute, we shall fall out of fellowship and lapse into bald independency. The ties which unite the churches of our order are already few enough and weak enough. There is need rather of more than of less organization. In the emergency, the thought of some has turned toward the Recognition Council, so called. This would be a body consisting of pastors and delegates representing sister churches, pursuing the same course of examination and public services with the Installing Council. It would differ only in a form of recognition of the new pastor, instead of installation, and would carry no necessity of a council for dismissal. An objection much urged against installation has been that it gives to a pastor for an indefinite period, if not for life, a legal right to the pulpit, and to a support from the parish. Judicial decisions, especially in the Interior, subvert this notion. The General Association of Illinois, at its last annual meeting, took measures for correcting it. The same body, while commending installation and urging the continuance of it, advised that churches irreconcilably opposed to it should resort to a Recognition Council, as far preferable to none at all.

Work in the Study.

The pastor's study invites him the more strongly as the increasing intelligence of the congregation threatens, like a rising tide, to submerge his old attainments. Our summer-schools for Hebrew, and the constant issue of new manuals for that language, betray the growing interest in these studies. It

augurs well for the younger ministry. But there is room for a caution here. The fascination of so venerable a tongue is such, the gratification to one's pride of some knowledge of it is so great, that some who are utterly unable, from want of both time and faculty, to do thorough work are tempted to a shallow substitute for that. For many a pastor, of small early advantages, a study of the original languages of Scripture is by no means the most direct path to a knowledge of the Book. Our exegetical literature is now so rich and extensive, it brings so immense an amount of erudition to bear on the Bible, that a minister could far better resort to that than to a meager show of Oriental learning of his own. By all means let one who has the time and persistence for respectable progress in Hebrew and Greek apply himself at once to the work. But let no one waste in fribbling with alphabets and grammars, beyond which he never advances, the time with which another gains, through his mother-tongue, a deep insight into the very heart of Scripture.

Simpler and More Practical Views of Truth.

There is reason for congratulation in the growing disposition of pastors, both in the pulpit and in meetings for conference and prayer, toward simpler and more Scriptural views of truth. The severe dialectics of the fathers are brought less into service. The ingenious theories with which they claimed to solve Divine mysteries have bred suspicion by their ingenuity and been left to lapse quietly out of sight.¹

¹ The admirable French Christian orator, Monod, looked with more quiet compassion than wonder on these ambitious illuminations

The intricate structures of doctrine that they built of precarious inferences from Scripture are, like old fortifications, neglected and dismantled. The metaphysical subtleties, that too often fed with chaff the young believer hungry for bread, are left to the dust and silence of the upper shelf. Pastors of all schools of thought are leading their flocks more directly to the fresh, rich nourishment of the Inspired Book.

Several causes have contributed to this. Able and prominent preachers, called to our pulpits from the mother country, have favored it by their example. The International Sunday-School lessons, dealing with the immediate text of Scripture, have promoted it. The New Revision of the Bible has called back our thought from inference and speculation to the Word itself. And, under and through all, the evangelistic movements of the day demand for their purpose the simple and graphic exhibitions of truth which are the charm of the Bible as a book for the people.

Public Worship.

The sentiment has not ceased to expand and deepen that increased attention should be paid to

of Scripture. "One evening, at the house of Madame Babut, the doctor [a friend of Monod] had naturally the lead in the conversation. Addressing himself to M. de Felice, and recalling to him some one of his writings, he said: "Here at Montauban you are all plunged into the vat of Arminianism." Then he returned to his hobby and his predestination of which, after his way, he gave us the solution. Adolph Monod, who had hitherto kept silence, said to him, "Brother, your teachings have, to my view, one great fault." "What is that?" "It is," answered the professor, "that of being clearer than those of the Word of God." *Revue Chretienne*, Fev., 1885, Adolph Monod, par Puaux.

the devotional features of our church service. The earlier works on Practical Theology concern themselves chiefly with the sermon. Even the Episcopal Bishop Meade, on the Pastoral Office,¹ devotes but five of his nineteen lectures to the parochial work. Still more has this been true of other like treatises. As a consequence, pastors have too generally regarded the devotional share of the worship as only a preliminary to the sermon. This was, among the fathers, a reaction from the opposite extreme. In the English churches of the seventeenth century, the hour of public service was mainly filled with a rapid and perfunctory recital of the liturgy.

The sermon was a brief and shallow exhortation as little quickening as instructive. The very structure of the European cathedrals, filled with immense pillars that obstruct the view, and with no facilities for hearing a discourse, is a visible confession that the delivery and intelligent reception of truth were no part of their design.

The Puritans, not unnaturally recoiling from this policy, gave undue prominence to the sermon. But the requisite now is that the congregation shall have larger audible participation in the service. This requisite is partially supplied by congregational singing, by responsive reading of Scripture, and by repetition in concert of the Lord's Prayer. The printed prayer of the liturgies finds, as yet, no favor among our churches. Notwithstanding the many acknowledged excellencies of the ancient forms of prayer of other communions, the fact remains that

¹ *Lectures on the Pastoral Office*, delivered to the Students of the Theological Seminary at Alexandria, Va.

constant repetition is itself an evil. The coin, long used, will lose the distinctness of its stamp. The words that slip, like the alphabet, from the tongue, will lose their freshness, and their power to stir profound emotion. This is a serious objection to the constant repetition even of the Lord's Prayer, which was probably intended rather as a suggestion of appropriate themes for our petitions than as a formula to be recited to the letter. A man smitten with any crushing sense of sin would hardly think of giving utterance to his anguish through a church liturgy. And one who should pronounce a litany with groans and tears would hardly be met with much faith in his sincerity.

It is interesting to notice that, simultaneously with this desire of larger participation of the assembly in the worship, the responses in the Methodist churches, formerly often so vehement, are, in their larger and more intelligent congregations, rapidly passing out of vogue. The mind of our Christian public seems to be moving, not toward a larger liberty of individual, devotional utterance, but toward the expression by the whole, in audible and recognized forms, of a homage common to all.

A new and authorized liturgy, issued in the kingdom of Saxony,¹ has special forms for the participation of children in the worship. That is by no means so impracticable as it may at first appear. The ideal service will hardly be attained and the general attendance of the children in our churches

¹ *Die Christliche Sonntagsschule*, ein kurzer Wegweiser, von Andreas, Graf von Bernstoff. Verlag des Komitees für Förderung der Sonntagsschule in Deutschland.

hardly secured, till we recognize and welcome them there with some distinct provision made for their sharing in the worship.

Quite rapidly, during the present century, the church-edifice has come into more frequent use than among our ancestors. In their day, with the Sabbath School not yet inaugurated, and the prayer-meeting hardly known, the sanctuary stood, from one Sabbath to the next, unopened. We owe it, perhaps, in part, to the example of the ritualistic churches, but still more to the actively evangelizing spirit of our day, that a significant change in this respect has occurred. An eminent pastor of New York City has denounced, with great emphasis, the wasteful unwisdom of spending a great sum on a church edifice and then putting the building to service but one or two days in the seven. No merchant, in his own business, would think of turning so much capital to so little use. And such considerations are coming to be tacitly allowed full weight. The various agencies and enterprises of the church, for religious and social culture, for woman's work, for youth and children and the like, are rendering the sanctuary far more of a constantly frequented domicile than of old.

Church Beneficence.

The question "*How to Develop and Direct the Benevolence of the Church*," is discussed by Rev. J. A. Clutz, A. M., in the *Lutheran Quarterly* for July, 1885. He urges more frequent collections in the Lutheran churches. In the immense majority of our Congrega-

tional churches, there is, on that score, no room for complaint. The pressure of the current expenses necessitates collections every Sabbath. The difficulty that haunts us is not there. It is in the false sentiment which looks askance at the contribution-box as a necessary evil. It is in the disposition, so soon as the weekly circulation of the box can be dispensed with, to banish it from the church. It is endured as a sort of humiliation. It is regarded in many quarters, like the mendicant's basket, as a badge of poverty, and a church that grows strong enough to spare it and provide for expenses otherwise is congratulated on its success. We need to throw by that sentiment. It is grounded on a shallow conventionalism. It is blind to the sacred beauty of Christian beneficence. It would degrade us to the fastidious folly that can find in the Sabbath service nothing but a luxury to be enjoyed. Beneficence is, as truly as prayer, a part of any true worship. The contribution-box ought to be as constant a piece of church-furniture as the pulpit. If the current expenses do not require it, the wants of the world, in its guilt and its misery, do. No church is spiritually sound and healthfully growing till habitual Christian beneficence is established in its regard as among both the most sacred of duties and richest of privileges. "The great problem," said Dr. Horace Bushnell, "is the Christianization of the money power of the world." But, preliminary to that, the same work must be done for the money-power of the Church. Till this is more thoroughly accomplished than at present, the world without will never be effectually moved.

The Care of the Children.

Says a writer in the *Lutheran Quarterly Review* for August 1885, "The Kingdom of Christ will never be built up by converted prodigals." A remark which chimes harmoniously with the principle enunciated by Dr. Horace Bushnell, that "Growth, not conquest, is the true law of Christian progress." The disciples imperatively needed for the aggressive work of the churches are such as have early in life been renewed, and through the long, slow development of years have grown ripe and strong. It is against deep-working laws of human nature that a Christian character grafted upon a life of impenitence should gather the solidity and substance of a character consecrated from childhood. Grace works no miracles. Plants that sprout suddenly are spongy and weak. The Christlike manhood and womanhood that have had time to impregnate every power of the soul will stand the strain of Christlike work. There is toughness in the fiber of character so cultured. There is intelligence after years of Biblical instruction. There are maturity and scope in the views of obligation that such a discipline unfolds. And the churches, accordingly, are turning more and more to the children, as the chief hope under God of the kingdom of Christ among men.

Dr. Stephen A. Tyng, who has so recently passed to his reward, was for many years the superintendent of his own large Sunday School. He gave "always a full half of the Sabbath's public teaching expressly to the young, on subjects in the Scriptures which were adapted to interest them,

and in language which they could readily understand."¹ He may be regarded as an authority on the whole matter of the Christian training of children. His practice was to receive into his church on profession of faith children of very tender age, many of them not older than ten. From among these he was able to count, in later years, more than fifty Christian ministers.

Rev. A. D. Mayo, in an article in the Unitarian Review for June 1885, on the Sunday School in the Light of the New Education, pleads for fewer and so better teachers. This involves, of course, larger classes, with less of the attention of the teacher afforded to each scholar. His argument is an interesting illustration of a dangerous tendency which seems to be gathering strength in Evangelical as well as in Liberal churches. It is a disposition to look upon the school, too predominantly, as a school for instruction. And the evil is only the more subtle and insinuating because the instruction is in sacred learning. The Romish church swings to one extreme, that of training the children to ignorant devotion only, with blind adherence to the church. We incline to the opposite extreme. Keenly aware of the worth of intelligence, we measure the value of a Sunday School too largely by the proficiency of the pupils in knowledge of Biblical names, dates, facts, events and doctrines. Because these are Biblical information, there is too often supposed to be in them some necessary spirit-

¹ *The Office and Duty of a Christian Pastor.* By Stephen H. Tyng, D. D., published at the Request of the Faculty of the School of Theology in the Boston University.

ual virtue. But they may of course easily be, as they often are, so taught as to be of no more profit than a knowledge of any secular history. This, however, is an incidental evil in a system which, on the whole, is accomplishing immeasurable good.

The Sunday School abroad is in general less advanced than with us. It apparently thrives most vigorously in connection rather with the voluntary system than with a church-establishment. The necessity of self-maintenance thrown on the voluntary church develops an activity and enterprise in the membership at large which redound to the benefit of the school. A state-church, on the other hand, appears to offer a frigid climate for the growth of institutions that rely on the efficiency of the laity. Count Bernstoff, speaking in 1883 for the society for the advancement of the Sunday School interest in Germany,¹ concedes that it has made, in that country, but moderate progress. Introduced at all even, in its present form, not till the year 1864, and then by an American, Mr. A. Woodruff of Brooklyn, N. Y., it lingers behind the progress made in Switzerland, in Holland and in the Evangelical churches of France. In the arrangements he proposes and the counsel he offers in general, he seems to go on the assumption that he is introducing a new institution.

Sunday School literature in this country has increased beyond all possibility of notice in detail in these pages. Among the most noteworthy volumes are that on "Teaching and Teachers," by Rev. Dr.

¹ *Die Christliche Sonntagsschule*, S. 5.

H. Clay Trumbull,¹ and the "Normal Course for Sunday School Teachers," republished from England by the Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society.² Dr. Trumbull's work, largely a compilation from his own voluminous contributions to the periodical religious press, and the fruit of large experience and much study, is perhaps the most elaborate and complete treatise we have on the whole work of the teacher, both within and without the school. And a great merit of it is, that though it devotes large space to the communication of religious truth, it carries forward its counsel to the immeasurably more important work of winning the scholar to a Christian life. This, of course, is the superstructure to which all else is but comparatively rough foundation.

But too generally, hitherto, almost the sole care of the church over the children has been entrusted to Sunday School teachers. And much excellent work they have done. But many of them are utterly inadequate to so difficult and delicate a charge. Being young in years and experience, crude and meager in teaching, they convey half-truths that are often worse in effect than whole errors, and leave false impressions that years are required to obliterate. More skillful pilotage is needed for a voyage so long and momentous as that which lies before the children. The skill and resources of a pastor

¹ *Teaching and Teachers*, or the Sunday School Teacher's Teaching Work, and Other Work of the Sunday School Teacher, Philadelphia, Jno. D. Wattles.

² Including *Primer of Christian Evidence*, by F. A. Redford, M. A., LL. B.; *The Young Teacher*, by W. H. Groser; and *The Bible the Sunday School Text Book*, by Alfred Holborn, M. A.

are indispensable. His unalienable duty in the premises, therefore, is coming to be more fully recognized.

In this revived interest, the question comes up, shall the children be addressed every Sabbath from the pulpit, or only more rarely in what is denominated the "Children's Service," or, by others, the "Children's Church." The latter is a separate meeting for the little ones alone. In favor of it are the greater independence and ease of the speaker, with his young audience gathered either in the absence of adults or with their presence ignored. For a new beginner in this sort of labor the special service is far to be preferred. All embarrassment may, at such a meeting, be thrown off, and in familiar freedom the speaker may concern himself only with his little hearers and his theme. For various reasons such a service may well be continued, at long intervals, even though the children should be addressed every Sabbath in the public worship. But this latter method is beginning to be held as a thing indispensable to be in some way attained. Otherwise the "Children's Church" may come to be, what the Sunday School so widely and deplorably already is, a rival in the minds of the children to the worship in the sanctuary. They may regard it as the only church they care to attend. The danger is threatening and increasing, that, with all our Sunday Schools and juvenile Christian literature, on which we boast our superiority to the fathers, our children may contract inveterate non-church-going habits. What is the remedy? The

authority with which the fathers enforced the attendance of the family is in our day rarely exerted. Whatever ought to be, it is certain that this will be no reliance for a pastor. To the influence he can wield outside of the pulpit, in parochial calls and in the Sabbath School, to draw the children to the public worship, must be added some attraction for them in the conduct of the worship itself. If the Saxon method, above mentioned, of some sort of form in which they can audibly take part, is impracticable, then let the minister address them directly, either with the "sermonette," as it is called, of a few minutes length, or with recognition, instruction and appeal thrown in along the entire course of the services.

Revivals of Religion.

Are these special, and in some sense exceptional, seasons to be regarded as permanent features of the church-life? That they have, in recent years, been generally more local and sporadic than during the last, and the earlier years of the present century, admits no question. Yet none but a pessimist would admit that the Christian earnestness of the churches is, on the whole, declining. If the diminution of such movements from the Divine Spirit as once swept with startling power over great regions of the country at once is not due to a growing worldliness that resists them, does it indicate a change in the methods of God's operation? There are various currents and drifts of thought among us, which, with subtle influence, seem working against the revival system or method. The increas-

ing tendency of modern science to refer all things to the regular working of law has led to the recognition, perhaps the excessive assumption, of law in the kingdom of nature as in the kingdom of grace. Indeed, the question whether there is, in this respect, much distinction between the two kingdoms has come up for explicit discussion.¹ And this drift of opinion, co-operating with the influence, long previously at work, of the ritualistic churches, has abated in many minds the interest once felt in these disclosures of the spiritual power of God. The Lutheran churches look on them with perhaps special disfavor. Their literature, both English and German, goes on the assumption of some inevitable incompatibility between such movements and that Christian nature and training, with baptism and catechism, in which, as they hold, is the main hope of the church.² By not a few also

¹ Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. See also, per contra, *Are the Natural and Spiritual Worlds one in Law?* by Prof. G. F. Magoun, Iowa College. Also *British Quarterly Review*, July, 1885, a review of Rev. Geo. Matheson's *Can the Old Faith Live with the New?* or the Problem of Evolution and Revelation.

² See for example Palmer, *Pastoral Theologie*, SS. 311, ff. The account he gives of a religious excitement in the last century sufficiently illustrates the idea of a revival too commonly prevalent in the German churches. "Old and young," says the pastor who gives the account, "came to my study and confessed their sins and asked after the right way. Some arose at midnight and prayed in their garden in the snow, and awoke their neighbors from sleep, which resulted in awakening others. * * But after a twelvemonth almost all have fallen into such stupidity and deadness that one cannot find a shadow of the former life. Many are ashamed of the by-gone awakening. Many go by hanging their heads as if they had been stunned. Some seem stupified. They mutter, and know not what they say. * * The few true souls are the sport of the rest." To which Dr. Palmer significantly adds "*Sapienti sat.*" If this were the necessary type of a revival we should agree with him. But one extreme of previous ignorance and spiritual stupidity could easily beget another.

of our American clergy it is maintained that the revival method or policy is not the Scriptural way, that at Pentecost, even, we have not an account of a revival in the modern sense, but that "*devout* men, out of every nation under heaven," simply transferred their adherence from Judaism to Christianity. But that narrative, taken as a whole with others of like character in Scripture, seems clearly to imply that large numbers of those won to repentance were brought not from one faith to another only, but radically, from nature to grace.

It is doubtless true that, as the church ripens from generation to generation, as Christian parents consecrate and train their children with fuller faith and fidelity, the number of believers developed from earliest infancy into the new life will immensely increase. Doubtless that is the normal method of God's ordering. But were there at present no other reliance than that, the churches would hardly make good the numbers depleted by death, and keep their foothold in the world. Meanwhile the signal gatherings of both youth and adults to which so many of the choicest disciples among us owe their Christian hope and life, must be continuously sought. The time has not arrived, it is not in the near future, in which we can forego dependence on these movements of the power from above.

Pastoral Visiting.

On this duty there is little fresh light thrown by the more recent works on Pastoral Theology. Dr. Plumer¹ lays much stress on a tender and affection-

¹ *Hints and Helps in Pastoral Theology.*

ate sympathy for the aged, a matter the more noteworthy as the drift of our hurried and eager life in this country, even in religious affairs, is not precisely in that direction. Principal Fairbairn,¹ in view of the difficulty of finding the head of the household at home during the day, advises calling on the family in his absence, and appointing some particular dwelling in the neighborhood to which the husbands and fathers may be invited for an evening meeting. A suggestion that betrays the far greater sway over his flock supposed to be allowed across the water than in the United States. Dr. Bedell² warns the pastor, inclined to converse with his parishioners on their business, either to understand the lines of business thoroughly, or not to pretend to understand them at all. It is significant that Rev. Thomas H. Potter, a Romish priest of Dublin,³ in a work in this department, has not a word on pastoral visiting as understood among Protestants. He evidently expects the priest to remain at home and send out invitations to his people to visit him for counsel or sympathy. This answers to the style of things in New England a century ago.

The complaints of physicians that pastors' calls on the sick, by unduly alarming them, hinder recovery, to which allusion is made by various writers, were more common in former years than they have been of late. They were generally confined, unless in some case of rank indiscretion on the part of a

¹ *Pastoral Theology*, a Treatise on the Office and Duties of the Christian Pastor.

² *The Pastor*, *Pastoral Theology*.

³ *The Pastor and his People*, or The Word of God and the Flock of Christ.

minister, to sceptics in the medical profession. To Christian physicians the presence of a pastor in the sick-room is commonly most heartily welcome.

The value of pastoral calls is urged as furnishing often the most effective matter for the pulpit. Questions of duty, doubts and difficulties as to Scripture and its doctrine, various trials in which consolation is wanted, all suggest such themes, as come home to the hearts of the flock, when carried into the Sabbath ministration.

Harms¹ has the wise suggestion that books selected to be read to the sick should, in general, not be such as are published for that special purpose. There is a tone of condolence, a somber impression, in that class of literature, which is more apt to depress than to cheer the patient. The sick need to hear, save in exceptional cases, what is a matter of interest and profit to the well. They are human, and with the same general views and hopes that distinguish humanity. To attempt to win to Christ a man dangerously sick by reminding him of death as possibly near at hand is a deplorable mistake. By that motive he may be frightened into a false show of contrition. Thousands of instances in which an unexpected recovery has followed, with the old impenitence returning stronger than ever, have amply established that. But in any sound and genuine change, a man will hardly take the contingency of life or death impending into account.

Blunt² remarks on the embarrassment of pressing home the truths and motives of the gospel, in

¹ S. 283.

² P. 240.

personal conversation, on those of the higher classes of society. There are few pastors who have not felt the embarrassment. The complaint is made that the souls of the rich are more neglected than those of the poor. We need among us women like Whitfield's friend, Selina, the Countess of Huntington, who labored with such mingled tact and tenderness to bring to Christ those of her own rank in life. The notion that personal religion is too trite a matter for high society is less prevalent than at some former periods. But enough and to spare of it still survives. A pastor must, of course, ignore it. The method of approaching such parishioners is the hard question. Written notes of expostulation have been sometimes successful. Availing oneself of an occasion of sickness, bereavement, or other sore grief, is more promising still. But the failure of the Master to win the rich, young ruler should relieve a pastor of too sensitive conscience from self-reproach for the persistent impenitence of persons socially prominent.

Blunt¹ makes much of the importance, when the way to direct religious conversation seems barred, of holding oneself as near such themes as may be possible. Too many a pastor, finding no room in an interview for the spiritual concerns of a parishioner, sinks despairingly to the conclusion that among secular themes one is about as well as another. But the matters that interest the human mind, and are of any moment to its welfare, may be graduated downward as spiritual, moral, intellectual, physical.

¹ P. 240.

And let the pastor, like a man going unwillingly down a dangerous defile, descend this scale as slowly as possible. Let him, if the way be not open for religion, bring in some moral truth or beneficent enterprise. If even that be impracticable, then he may suggest instruction or thought for the intellect. Last of all, let any mere material interest be allowed to engross attention.

Professor Jas. M. Hoppin, D. D., of Yale College, in the most voluminous and elaborate work¹ on Pastoral Theology yet published in this country, has much valuable matter on the care of souls in personal intercourse. Many a man, as he remarks, who is not a great preacher, has accomplished more by pastoral labor than another by the most brilliant discourses. And any one who complains that his preparations for the pulpit allow no time for work from house to house has serious reason to fear that his heart is growing cold. One should know his people individually, if he is ever to know them collectively. He must be familiar with not the name and face only of each, but the inner life and history, the temperament and liabilities and dangers. A resolution of Doddridge is quoted: "To make a particular account of the souls committed to my care, to visit as soon as possible the whole congregation." The example of Chalmers is given, who, not content with preaching as with a tongue of fire, labored to carry the truth familiarly from house to house throughout the week, knew the children and the aged alike, the circumstances and characteristics of as many as possible of them.

¹ *Pastoral Theology*. New York: Funk and Wagnalls.

Prof. Hoppin urges that the pastor be a man genial, wholesome, magnanimous and magnetic, and not averse to pleasantries at times. Martin Luther's saying is quoted here, "As life cannot pass without society, it becomes thee to believe that thou pleasest God when thou speakest to thy brother with a jocund countenance, when thou invitest him to pleasantries by a cheery laugh, and when thou sometimes delightest him with a facetious and shrewd remark." But, above all, is justly set forth an absorbing love of the souls of men. "The best gift of God to the pastor is the power of loving." A golden saying this, for young men who suppose the best gift to be brilliant talents.

Under the head of pastoral visiting, specifically so-called, Professor Hoppin would have the pastor reach the whole family and converse with every individual separately. But there should be no unalterable rule. The minister must carry a face and manner in which every child shall find a charm. When Dr. Emmons made a pastoral visit, his form, looming up at a distance in the village, created a sensation, and the children's hearts were nearly paralyzed with awe.

As uses of pastoral visiting are enumerated, first: To bring the truth to bear upon the souls of individual men: Second, To win the confidence of the people: Third, To promote attendance upon public worship and attention to all Christian duties. "The house-going parson makes the church-going people." Interest in the temporal welfare of the flock draws them to the pastor and so to the service where the pastor presides. Oberlin directed, with measuring

chain and spade in hand, the construction of a road among the mountains, which opened communication between his obscure village and the outer world. So he became a benefactor of his people in things they could not deny.

A good pastor will know something of the reading common in his parish, especially among the young, and will introduce the best and most wholesome literature. A fourth point in visiting, is the gathering profitable topics for the pulpit. A fifth, to give aim and directness to prayer. A sixth, to quicken the pastor's own spirituality. A seventh, to reach with one's ministry those unable to attend public service, as the aged, and confirmed invalids. An eighth object is to hold the parish united and harmonious.

A grievous mistake in a minister, and one by no means uncommon in the interior States of our Union, is that of adopting the coarse diction of the illiterate, in a false application of Paul's rule of becoming all things to all men, from a laudable desire to convince them of one's strength of fellow-feeling. They have, in general, discrimination enough to be repelled by it instead. And if they are not, a pastor's aim should be to raise them to his own plane rather than to descend to theirs.

The author urges care to divest a visit to the sick of any official or perfunctory air, to render it thoroughly genial, cordial, sympathetic, and so the sort of approach that wins confidence. A sick room is no place for a lugubrious look. Earnestness and solemnity are by no means synonymous terms. If

a pastor suppose them to be such, the physician has full right to complain.

There is danger that the general and just suspicion of death-bed repentances may unduly discourage a pastor called to the sick room of one dying without hope. While no false refuge should be recognized, it is still true that no limit can be set to the mercy of Christ. But, on the other hand, one should be chary, at a funeral and elsewhere, of giving any undue prominence to these experiences of the closing hours. Hearers either regard them with doubt, or take encouragement from them to persist in a godless life.

An English clergyman testifies, from his own observation, that the dying are often more conscious of what is going on around them than we are apt to suppose. He gives striking instances of this, and adds: "Acting upon this conviction, I never lose an opportunity of praying by the bedside of the sick, even when the patient is himself [seemingly] unconscious. And, in my form of expression, I pray not only for, but with the patient."

In dealing with doubters, while the theologian meets the doubt objectively, the pastor looks behind it, searching into the subjective causes and conditions. There are instances in which pure reasoning, the grapple and wrestle of mind with mind, meeting objection with argument, will be well. But, in most cases, the opposition springs from far back of the cavils urged, and debate is not the best remedy. Faith, not doubt, is the normal condition of the mind. Only when a man assents to that and comes

to prefer a believing attitude, is he in any state for hopeful treatment.

"Beware," says Prof. Hoppin, "of extinguishing the beginnings of repentance by overlaying them with requirements hard for the most mature Christian to bear."

While the volume has much valuable matter, it is seriously at fault in diffuseness of style. Obvious suggestions are dwelt upon at needless length. Many subjects on which a young pastor much needs counsel, as the care of health, children's services, church beneficence, relations to deacons, elders, and other leading members, to tradesmen, to other ministers and churches, the pastor's library, etc., are passed quite cursorily or in silence.

A suggestive and helpful little work is that of Dr. C. L. Goodell¹ of St. Louis. The contents are in seven chapters, on The Pastor saving souls, the Pastor in the pulpit, in the parish, among the youth, in the prayer meeting, dealing with scepticism, and in revivals. Three short but valuable papers are added by Mrs. Goodell, on the privilege of teaching God's Word, on minister's wives, and on woman's work in home evangelization. These essays are all born of practical and most successful experience in the work they commend. The growth of Dr. Goodell's church has been phenomenal. The little volume, of seventy-six pages, most of it originally contributed to the "Advance," will well repay careful reading.

¹ *How to Build a Church*, with an introduction by Rev. E. B. Webb, D.D. Boston: Congregational S. S. and Publishing Society.

Parochial Lay Coöperation.

Rev. T. H. Blunt, in a different volume¹ from the one before cited, has much suggestive matter on parochial lay coöperation. The vigorous evangelism of the non-conforming churches has provoked to Christian emulation some, at least, in the Establishment; and the plans for Bible readers, for evening schools and evening lecturers, with especially the activity of consecrated women, are working efficiently under clerical direction. The number of women of the wealthier classes who are willing to engage in charitable work is so large as to raise the very serious question whether there *ought* to be as many at leisure as there are. It is argued that, to a large and rather ambitious class of such women, quiet, indoor domestic duties, with the diligent care of a household, have no such attraction as more conspicuous work without. And pastors, it is suggested, may do but a doubtful service to any concerned, in calling wives and mothers from the unassuming duties of home life to assist them in the enterprises of the church. But, with this precaution, there still remains much excellent service which only ladies can render. It seems, however, from the English literature in this department, that our own country women are in advance of their sisters across the water in the variety and extent of the Christian work in which they are enlisted. And the various devices, as evening schools, coal clubs, penny-banks and the like, for promoting education

¹ *Directorium Pastorale*, The Principles and Practice of Pastoral Work in the Church of England. Rivingtons, London.

and provident habits, evince the crude condition of the people in the average English rural parish.

German Pastoral Theology.

Much may be indirectly learned from the practical methods of the German pastors. Want of space will prevent a reference here to more than two or three of the German authors in this department. The conditions afforded by an established church so differ from our own that exact adoption of the details of its policy is impracticable. The authority assumed by the ministers of a state-church is of course such as would never be conceded among us. Harms, for example,¹ regretting the scattered condition of many of the parishes of the fatherland and the difficulty of reaching every home in the pastoral rounds, suggests that householders ought to be forbidden to build dwellings at such inconvenient distances from the church. It is interesting to imagine the reception that such a proposition as this would encounter in any American town. Pastor Harms goes on, however, more rationally, to say that, if men will not come to the church, the church must be carried to them. Any occasion of a house-baptism, or administration of the Lord's Supper to the sick, or school visitation, he would seize for a service with preaching.

Dr. Palmer, of Tübingen,² lays down various methods of incidental labor for the parish, as voluntary services, private gatherings (cottage prayer-

¹ *Pastoraltheologie*, S. 282.

² *Pastoral theologie*, S. 336.

meetings), missionary meetings, Bible-distribution, singing societies, infant schools, loan-libraries, etc.

It is plain, at first glance, that the German pastor must commonly take on his hands an immense amount of labor and care which, in this country, we have intelligent and efficient laymen to undertake. Among other special services Dr. Palmer enumerates Bible readings on Sunday evenings, or during the week, liturgical devotions, missionary meetings and conventions (*Missionsfeste*), occasional services for prayer, as at the commencement of the harvest or of the autumn, at a house-raising, in any calamity, as in excessive rains, or droughts, or approach of war.

The German pastors, if we may judge from their literature in this department, give to criminals and to the insane far more attention than is common in the United States. Their recognized relations to the government naturally account for this. But the suggestion remains that American pastors might, especially in cities and large towns, accomplish more than they do for these guilty or unfortunate classes. Harms charges his students not to remain a week after settlement in any town in which there is a prison without visiting it and getting into communication with the inmates. If no better way of reaching them is practicable, he would have the pastor open the slide in the prison-door and preach through the aperture to the assembly within. Our Young Men's Christian Associations are doing noble service for our prisoners. But no pastor living in the neighborhood of a penitentiary should rest till some-

thing of the spirit of John Howard finds expression through himself or others.

As to the insane, there evidently lingers in Germany something of the mediæval notion that they who suffer such things are sinners above other men. Harms gives, as one of the main causes of derangement, vicious indulgence, and quotes a Moravian as saying that but one lunatic has been found among them and he was generally judged a hypocrite. The fact is, in this country, and probably, if the truth were known, in Germany, that the wives of farmers are the class who furnish the largest number of patients for the insane retreat. They are not only one of the most numerous classes of the population, but are so overtaxed with excessive care and labor that the nervous system, breaking down, throws the brain into confusion. But whatever the causes of derangement, it is clear that insanity is commonly not absolute but partial, that it often leaves many of the faculties, especially the moral faculties, unaffected, and that there is abundant room remaining, amidst the internal anarchy, for the consolations of religion. Of course, a minister without discretion, as a man without discretion anywhere, might rather excite than soothe the victims of this malady. But any clergyman who has had experience in preaching to the insane will testify that to a sermon adapted to their wants they listen, in general, as quietly and attentively as an audience of the sane.

Secular Improvement in the Community.

Though various sorts of pastoral labor for the temporal welfare of the people, which are needful in

other countries, would be superfluous among us, it by no means follows that nothing in this line remains for our pastors to do. As Burgon¹ well says, "Every fresh parish is a fresh problem." It opens its own peculiar exigencies. All souls must be saved by the same redemption, it is true. But souls are incarnate in such various relations and surroundings as to require a largely varied treatment for their welfare.

The pastor who, with intelligent Christian sympathy, cares for the life of his people on all its sides, temporal as well as eternal, for their domestic, social, educational, business interests, so far as possible, soon comes to be recognized as himself a many-sided man. The unselfishness with which he does what no professional obligation requires of him is appreciated. The breadth of his views is respected. He comes to be known as no narrow parson, concerned for his own church alone, but a public-spirited Christian philanthropist to whom the whole community owes acknowledgement. There is, of course, in this broader beneficence, danger that he may become secularized. His eyes must be open to that. But that is no reason for refraining from the largest possible range of one's usefulness.

Dr. Murphy² urges that the pastor identify himself in interest and feeling with his people, that he endeavor to stand not above them, or aloof from them, but with them as a confidential friend. Let him not be ogling for other fields of labor, or writing sermons for other pulpits, but recognize his church

¹ P. 377.

² P. 269.

with its neighborhood as assigned him in the ordering of Providence, and throw his heart undivided into a self-forgetful sympathy with it. Mr. Burgon¹ advises that, promptly after settlement, he should make himself intimately acquainted with the business, the manufacturing, agriculture, mining, trading or whatever, in which his people are engaged. The more minute and detailed this acquaintance the better. It will save him from mortifying mistakes when referring to the business. It will deepen his sympathy with the trials and annoyances the business involves. It will enable him to use it in apt illustration of truth. It will enable him to offer to operatives, clerks and laborers, valuable counsel.

Many a pastor may immensely increase his power for good by projecting or supporting a village improvement association, to raise the taste of his neighbors as to parks, trees, lawns and whatever will beautify the town. Dr. Horace Bushnell, of Hartford, Connecticut, so enlightened and stimulated his fellow citizens in this direction that their principal park, which bears his name, will testify, for many a year to come, their grateful recognition of his service. And Rev. F. W. Robertson is thankfully remembered as the benefactor of the artisans and mechanics of Brighton, England.

As to entertainments and amusements also, with which Dr. Burgon² deals somewhat at length, a wise pastor will take rather positive than negative ground. He will spend more time in encouraging something lawful and innocent than in warning against what is

¹ P. 378.

² Pp. 383-388.

- hurtful. This last has long enough been the chief policy of the church.

This extra-parochial work, however, belongs chiefly to a pastor of some years standing. One yet in his novitiate may well confine himself mainly to his own immediate field and to the spiritual and evangelistic work to be done in that.

Conclusion.

No secular benefits possible are to be compared with the work of winning men to a personal allegiance to Christ. In that allegiance all other benefits are, in greater or less measure, involved. Whoever neglects that for miscellaneous, incidental beneficence, forgets the supreme demand of his great vocation. A ministry that, in such beneficence, bounds itself by the horizon of earth and time, may seem, to shallow observers, broad and comprehensive. But it is, in fact, narrow in range and transient in results.

The temptation to a different view, the danger of measuring one's efficiency by its temporal and visible fruits, is, especially in the young States of the Interior, the besetting peril of a pastor. Dr. Joseph Parker¹ has admirable counsel in this direction. "Success" is so universally our popular watchword, and success means so exclusively an outward and visible progress, that we carry the imperious demand for it into our Christian work. We measure the character and worth of a minister by the show he can make of results. Peter at Pentecost, winning his

¹ *Ad Clerum*, p. 224, &c.

three thousands, rather than the disciple whom Jesus loved, is our model. The silent power of a Christ-like life is too fine for our appreciation, too subtle for our discovery. We need, with loftier aim, to commend ourselves rather to God than to the approval of men. He seeth not as man seeth. Many a quiet pastor, reaching but a small circle with his immediate influence, but reaching them with a deep-working and transforming power, will be found in the day of disclosure to have accomplished, through them, more for the world than many a popular orator, followed and applauded by the crowd. Neither eloquence nor success, but consecrated Christian character is the highest of the gifts of God.

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